Tshomarelo NGWAO

The Museums of Botswana Celebrate Twenty-five Years of Independence

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A Compilation of Articles from the
Kgosi Sechele I Museum,
Khama III Memorial Museum,
National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery,
Phuthadikobo Museum and
Supa-Ngwao Museum Centre

Edited by Sarah Anne Hughes

National Museum, Monuments and Art Gallery

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Seretse Khama's Return Home, 1956© Copyright Neil Parsons

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Introduction

Sarah Hughes

Tshomarelo Ngwao is published to celebrate the work of the museums of Botswana during twenty-five years of Independence.

Unlike many countries with a colonial past, Botswana did not inherit a museum service at Independence. The limited work which was done in the Bechuanaland Protectorate in natural history, archaeology and ethnology resulted in material being deposited in museums outside the country and not in the establishment of museums here. People wanting to study this material must now travel to South Africa, Zimbabwe, Europe and North America.

However, two years after Independence the National Museum was established as a private society. It became a government department in the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs in 1976 and has seen a steady growth since then.

Phuthadikobo Museum in Mochudi lays claim to the earliest surviving museum as it has been operating since 1975. (A museum in Kanye was started earlier than this but it has not survived; perhaps the next few years will see the community in Kanye move to establish a museum again.) Khama III Memorial Museum reflects in-depth experience in establishing a museum (see page 21) and its current strength proves that trying again leads to success. Supa-Ngwao exists in all but a building (see page79) but this has not prevented them from being active in organising events and holding exhibitions. They have already established a positive relationship with the business community in Francistown and are confident of further financial assistance once they have a building. And in Molepolole, the community is watching Botswana's youngest regional museum, Kgosi Sechele I Museum, taking shape in the form of a renovated building (see page 5) and donor support for personnel.

The impetus for these regional museums has come from people in the community itself. The government and aid donors are able to help once the community has demonstrated their commitment to the project but much of the early foundation is done by a few dedicated individuals. Botswana is fortunate in having four regions of the country

where communities have started museums. The history of their establishment is instructive for other communities planning to start museums and their assistance and advice will be available to these areas.

The National Museum has always attempted to provide a service to the whole of Botswana despite difficulties in getting to some of the remoter parts of the country. For much of the museum's existence, *Pitse ya Naga mo Moatwaneng* (the Zebra on Wheels) taking the museum to the schools of rural areas and entry into the National Art competition has been the only contact many people have had with the museum. This is planned to change in the next few years. The building programme which has just been completed has equipped the National Museum with the working space to provide a service to all parts of the country. These facilities will be available to community established regional museums and to the site museums at National Monuments set up by the National Museum itself.

While working on this book we were contacted by a fledgling society in Selebi-Phikwe forming themselves to organise a museum. They are motivated by the changes they see occuring in their community and the feeling that they must try to preserve some knowledge of the past. The next few years will see Botswana's development continue even more rapidly and we hope that with these changes more communities will realise the need to *tshomarelo ngwao*.

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Supa-Ngwao Museum Centre
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Francistown

The Kgosi Sechele I Museum is Coming Up

Inger-Marie Borgesen

Visible from the Gaborone-Molepolole road and situated on a small hill lies the Kgosi Sechele I Museum. Workers are now finishing the restoration work on the museum building which was formerly the residence and office for the Bechuanaland Police. As far as possible the old protectorate building has been restored without major changes since it is also part of Botswana's heritage which has to be preserved.

Efforts towards creating a museum for the Bakwena began in the early 1980s with the present committee being formed in 1985. This year the Danish Volunteer Service (DVS) has provided the museum with personnel, a curator and a museum assistant. NORAD and the British Council donated funds for the restoration of the police building and for the

Figure 1 The old police station in Molepolole has been renovated as the museum centre.

teacher's house. This building was erected in the 1930s as accommodation for the teacher at the European school. It will provide accommodation once more for the curator.

Norad and DVS are committed to support the museum but local support is also needed and very important at this stage of the museum to demonstrate local interest in the project. Further building restoration in the area has been made possible with a donation of P20,000 from Debswana for work on Mmakgosi's house at Ntsweng which was originally the Bakwena National Office.

Ideas for museum projects are wide ranging. Besides preserving and displaying the cultural and historical heritage of the Kweneng region, the museum will also act as an art gallery and as an educational centre.

There are already plans for the future expansion of the museum and the Local Council has given its support to the committee's applicaton for the extension of the museum site.

The museum wishes to address the people in Molepolole as well as people all over Kweneng District. It wants to appeal to children as well as their parents; to young people and to old. As the museum is now, it has three rooms for exhibitions, one for an office, one for meetings and one for a museum shop. But a museum is more than just six rooms, it is also an outdoor space where other activities can take place.

On one of our walks in Molepolole to learn more about the village, we were stopped by a young man who asked us where we came from and what we were doing. We explained we were working for the museum. "In Gaborone?" he asked. "No, here in Molepolole. Have you heard about the museum in Molepolole?" The man smiled. "A museum in Molepolole; then you look for unique things, do you not?"

Later a young girl walked with us and asked what we were doing. We explained again. "Oh, the museum. The old building behind the bank. I have visited the museum in Central District. What will you exhibit in this museum? The museum has to tell about our life, the lands, the cattle post, our houses. Have you heard about Livingstone's Cave? That is part of our culture too."

Both of these young people were right in their opinions of the aim of the museum; both unique and common, the daily life and its activities have to be dealt with in the work of preserving the rich cultural and historical heritage of Kweneng.

Some Places of Interest in Historic Molepolole

Jeff Ramsay

One of the functions of the the new Kgosi Sechele I Museum will be to cater to both tourists and the general public by providing information about the many locations of interest throughout the Kweneng District. From Gàbane to Tsetseng, Kweneng is rich in sites whose historical and environmental importance and beauty are largely unknown to Batswana, as well as the region's international visitors. District residents are also often unaware of the existence and significance of many local monuments and nature reserves.

The area in and around Molepolole, where the museum is located, is especially rich in places of historic interest. Modern Molepolole was established by Sechele I as his capital in 1865. During its first decades the town enjoyed the status of being Botswana's political and economic centre. At the time it served as a gateway to the hunting grounds of central Africa as well as the Kgalagadi.

Despite its prosperous precolonial past, Molepolole's present layout only dates back to 1937. In that year the colonial government for political reasons related to their earlier deposition of Sechele's great grandson, Sebele II, forcibly removed the core of the Bakwena capital from atop Ntsweng or Molepolole Hill to the plain where it is now centred.

Sechele's centre was not entirely lost. At Ntsweng one can still discover the outlines of hundreds of abandoned homesteads. Included among the old settlement's remains are the square foundations upon which once rested the palatial homes of Sechele and his son Sebele I, as well as former churches, schools and trading posts. Ntsweng's many elevations provide convenient overviews of the ruins.

One particularly good observation point is the walled hill adjacent to the old *kgotla*. Located atop this hill is a cave which once served as the Bakwena armory. Here, ammunition, dynamite and Sechele's now lost cannon were safely stored.

At the Ntsweng *kgotla* there stands the old Bakwena National Office built by Sebele II. Today this building, the only one not torn down at the time of the removal, is locally referred to as 'Mmakgosi's' because Sebele II's mother

Mohumagadi Phetogo, barricaded herself in the premises in 1937 and remained there until her death two decades later. Debswana has recently donated money to the museum to begin restoration work on this important monument.

Next to Mmakgosi's is the *kgotla's* well preserved cattle krall, in which are located the official graves of past Bakwena *dikgosi* beginning with Sechele. Some people maintain that Sechele is buried elsewhere at Ntsweng; it used to be common for the remains of *dikgosi* to be placed in secret graves.

On the south side of Ntsweng, off the Molepolole-Thamaga road is the cave into which Livingstone and Sechele are supposed to have descended to demonstrate their confidence in the Christian faith. Legend has it that they left a silver coin in the cave's bowels that remains to be discovered. About a kilometre further south of the cave are more ruins of the old village, including walls and foundations that mark the location of the nineteenth century London Missionary Society mission station. Located here are several missionary graves as well as the cliff from which public executions used to be carried out. Also in the general vicinity. are the remains of early ironworkings.

Sites of historic interest within modern Molepolole itself include the museum building, the current *kgotla*, the nearby Cape Dutch style royal residence and the UCCSA church, built at the turn of the century. There is also a large *Aloe* forest on the town's west side off the Letlhakeng road, just past the College of Education. A Sekwena story states that an invading Boer commando raid turned back when, in the twilight, they mistook the forests numerous rows of *Aloe marlothii* for Bakwena regiments.

About twelve kilometres southwest of the forest, along a road that skirts the north side of the Scottish-Livingstone Hospital lies perhaps the most interesting historic site in southern Botswana; the remains of the stone walled settlement of Dithejwane or Dithubaruba. It was here, in 1842 (before his residence at Kolobeng), that Livingstone began his Botswana career by helping to build a dam and irrigation canal. Between 1852 and 1863 the area served as a defensive stronghold for the Bakwena and allied groups such as the Bahurutse, Bakaa, Bamalete, Batlokwa and Bakgatla Bagammanaana, when they were threatened by the Boers. Many of the stone fortifications built during this period survive, along with the ruins of the village itself.

Also located at the base of Dithubaruba Hill, amidst a number of long established wells, are the remains of Hermannsburg German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, which was active in the area bewteen 1857 and 1863. Among the German mission's early converts was the future Khama III, who as a young man lived in exile at Sechele's court.

Visitors to Molepolole may wish to stop at the local Mafenya-Tlala Hotel, which boasts a pleasant restaurant and bar as well as overnight accommodation.

Molepolole in Pictures in the 1920s

These photographs show the village of the Bakwena at Ntsweng around 1925 before it was moved to its present site of Molepolole. They give some idea of the order and beauty of the traditional village layout and buildings. They were taken by The Reverend Burns working with the London Missionary Society and Reverend Clissold, an Anglican missionary.

Figure 1 A view from one of the hills around Ntsweng showing a group of houses forming a *makgotla*. Livestock were kept in the areas behind the houses and in the central kraal.

Figure 2 Women building the lower wall for a house. The supporting stone circle is already in place and they are starting to build up the mud walls.

Figure 3 This flat area is used for threshing. The *serala*, a pole construction in the photograph, is used to store the maize cobs and sorghum heads.

Figure 4 Kgosing viewed from the walled hill above Ntsweng. The royal residence is on the left and the National Office which is now known as Mmakgosi's is on the right.

Figure 5 Women carrying grain, probably sorghum, from *masimo*.

Figure 6 The London Missionary Society dispensary and clinic eventually grew into the Scottish Livingstone Hospital.

Figure 7 The outer walls of the *lolwapa* were decorated with coloured sand. This house has the usual thatched roof which was done by women. The woman is carrying a *kika*, used for stamping sorghum and maize.

How Sechele Won the Batswana-Boer War of 1852-53

Jeff Ramsay

The Batwana-Boer War of 1852-53 was the seminal event in Botswana's birth as a nation state. During the war the Batswana *merafe* or communities west of the Madikwe and Limpopo Rivers formed an alliance against the Transvaal Boers. Although the Boers began the hostilities by invading southeastern Botswana, they soon found themselves on the defensive. After being besieged in their laagers for five months, they sued for peace. For the next quarter of a century, until the imposition of colonial rule, local Batswana-Boer relations remained peaceful.

Until recently history texts have generally ignored the Batswana-Boer War. As a result few have learned about this important episode in local history. The Boers had hoped to rule Botswana as part of the Transvaal and make its people their servants. Had they succeeded, it is unlikely that Botswana would exist today as an independent country.

At the time of their invasion the Boers thought that the *merafe* of Botswana were too weak to effectively resist them. With their guns and cannon, they had already defeated the Batswana communities of the Transvaal and Orange Free State as well as other powerful African nations, such as the Amandebele and Amazulu. They therefore thought that they could easily conquer the peaceful peoples living in Botswana. Indeed the *merafe* of Botswana might have suffered the same fate as their brothers and sisters across the border had it not been for the leadership of the Bakwena *kgosi*, Sechele I.

During the 1840's Sechele emerged as the most powerful ruler in Botswana through his possession of guns, which he acquired through trading. He sold game products—ivory, karosses and ostrich feathers—to the European traders who came in increasing numbers to his territory. But he did not sell the game products for money, instead he insisted on being paid in guns and ammunition. As he obtained more guns he was able to arm ever larger hunting parties whose kills in turn allowed him to buy still more guns. Having learned arithmetic as well as reading and writing, he became skilfull in his negotiations with the European traders. For one elephant tusk he would charge one new gun with ammunition.

In 1844 the Boers began to demand that Sechele give up his guns and submit to their authority. His response to this ultimatum was to secure his village with a series of stone walls and redouble his efforts to obtain more guns. As his armory grew a steady stream of people came seeking protection from Boer oppression. Many arrived in small groups and were settled among the Bakwena. Others arrived as whole *merafe* and were allowed to establish their own villages. Among the peoples who settled in Kweneng were the Bakaa, Balete, Batlokwa and the Bahurutse.

One of the largest groups who sought Sechele's protection were the Bakgatla Bagammanaana, the people who are today concentrated in the Gamafikana section of Kanye as well as the neighbouring villages of Moshupa and Thamaga. During the mid-nineteenth century the Baga-Mmanaana were ruled by Kgosi Mosielele, whose village was located at a place called Maanwane, in the modern Lehurutse region of the Transvaal. For many years Mosielele, like Sechele, prospered through his dealings with European traders, while maintaining his independence from the Boers. But during the 1850s armed Boers began to appear at Maanwane demanding that Mosielele order his subjects to work on their farms without compensation. Boers were much more powerful than his own regiments so Mosielele initially sent men to work for the invaders. But by 1852 he had had enough. He told the Boers that he could no longer order his people to work like slaves. Having received a gift of ammunition from Sechele, Mosielele intended to resist the Boers. But Baga-Mmanaana were no match for the Boer commandos of some 500 horsemen that was sent to punish them. Seeing that his people would be either massacred or enslaved if they tried to hold out at Maanwane, Mosielele decided that their only hope was to join forces with the Bakwena.

Mosielele fled with most of his *morafe* to Sechele's capital, which at this time was located around Dimawe Hill, near the contemporary village of Manyana. Sechele welcomed Mosielele and his people, knowing that the Boers would be following their footsteps.

Even before Mosielele's defiance the Boer government of President Andries Pretorius had been preparing to attack the Bakwena. Many of the Africans who had been forced to work on Boer farms had been fleeing to the protection of Sechele's guns. As a result Pretorius and his followers decided that they would have to force the Mokwena to disarm and accept the authority of the Transvaal. The large commando that attacked Maanwane was thus already instructed to invade Botswana. In addition to the 500 Boer horsemen the invading army included 600 or more African auxiliaries.

One may wonder why so many Africans had joined the Boer force. In fact, most Africans had been pressed into service. In some cases their rulers, like Kgosi Mangope of the

Bahurutse Boomanyana were held as hostages to assure their people's cooperation. Others like Kgosi Montshiwa of the Barolong Boora-Tshidi decided to join Sechele in his resistance rather than allow his own regiment to be coopted in the campaign against him. Only one *kgosi* is known to have voluntarily given the Boers assistance.

The Boer army led by Commandant Pieter Scholtz arrived at Dimawe on Saturday, August 28, 1852. There, in addition to the Bakwena, they found encamped the erstwhile rival Bangwaketse factions of Dikgosi Senthufe and Segotshane, as well as *merafe* like the Baga-Mmanaana who had fled Boer oppression. All of these groups acknowledged Sechele as their commander-in-chief.

Sechele hoped that a battle could be averted. At his suggestion a two day truce was arranged to allow negotiations to take place. The Boers were given free passage to the waters of the Kolobeng river, but Sechele instructed his men to display their guns so that the enemy might have second thoughts about attacking.

During their initial encounter Scholtz demanded that Sechele surrender Mosielele. Sechele replied, "I shall not deliver up Mosielele for he has become my child, he is of my blood and I have thus swallowed him. To remove him you must first cut open my belly." He also warned the Boers that he had many guns and a cannon.

On the following day a number of Boers are reported to have attended the Bakwena Sunday prayer services led by Moruti Mebalwe. Meanwhile Sechele and Scholtz continued to trade messages. The Kgosi was determined to impress his antagonist with his own confidence in his strength, probably hoping that through bravado he might be able to deter the Boers from attacking. He thus sent two Afrikaans speaking messengers, Selete and Masholobotho, to fetch some tea and sugar from Scholtz. In return they offered to supply the Boers with gunpowder "if the commandant has not brought enough with him for a long fight". Scholtz replied that warriors did not need sugar but he would "soon give Sechele chilies instead". The messengers then offered to show the Boers where to avoid poisonous grass, for, if there was to be a fight, "their oxen would soon belong to Sechele". After further bantering the two leaders finally agreed to face to face negotiations at dawn on Monday.

The Monday meeting failed to resolve anything. Sechele called upon Scholtz to justify his demand for Mosielele, but instead the commandant underscored the real issues at stake by calling on the Bakwena and their allies to disarm and accept Boer overrule by agreeing to supply free labour on demand. Sechele replied that he would remain a Kgosi through the grace of God and his people, and not the Boers.

The Battle of Dimawe commenced on August 30, with the Boers storming the hillside walled entrenchments that

Sechele had constructed around Dimawe and neighbouring hills. In their initial advance the Boers marched behind the Africans whom they had pressed into service, using them as human shield. This strategy complicated the task of the defenders for Sechele ordered his forces to refrain from shooting their helpless brothers. During six hours of battle, Dimawe village was itself burned and the Bangwaketse and Baga-Mmanaana positions overrun. But by sunset the core of the Batswana defenders under Sechele's personal command still held their positions atop Dimawe Hill. With night approaching the Boers called off their attack.

During the battle, Sechele had several close brushes with death. Bullets pierced his coat and hat but not his flesh. At one point the enemy had him nearly trapped when he went to rescue his pregnant wife, Selemang (Mmasebele), from a cave where she had been hidden. A party of Boers suddenly appeared at the mouth of the cave, but the Kgosi drove them off with his marksmanship, while his wife, taking over from a slain servant, loaded his muskets. 'Sechele's Cave' can be found near the rock paintings at Manyana.

Under cover of darkness Sechele retreated, regrouping his forces at Dithubaruba, a natural fortress that in the past had often served as a Bakwena stronghold. The great stone wall fortifications which were built by Sechele are still visible today.

The following morning the Boers, finding that their antagonists had escaped are alleged to have massacred the Batwana wounded who had been left behind. For three days Scholtz divided his forces in pursuit of his now scattered foes. It was during this period that his men broke into the famous missionary David Livingstone's station at Kolobeng which was unoccupied at the time. Scholtz reported that "We found several half-finished guns and a gun maker's shop with an abundance of tools. We here found more guns and tools than Bibles, so that the place had more the appearance of a gunmaker's shop than a mission station, and more a smuggling-shop than a school place."

In another action Senthufe, at Kanye's Kgwakgwe Hill, regrouped his Bakgwaketse and successfully repulsed the pursuing enemy. Other skirmishes were fought, but Scholtz's men ultimately proved themselves to be unwilling to pursue Sechele. According to one tradition, they turned back before attacking Dithubaruba when, in the twilight, they mistook an *Aloe marlothii* forest on the horizon for the Mokwena's massed regiments. The forest still exists on the western side of Molepolole.

On Friday, September 3, Scholtz decided to withdraw from Botswana, taking with him between two and four hundred captive women and children and large numbers of cattle as booty. Additional valuable property, belonging to the Bakwena and some of the hunter-traders who passed through their town, was also siezed and later auctioned. However, the

Boers had failed in their primary mission of subjugating the local population. Bakwena sources claim that Sechele then harassed the withdrawing commando with guerilla style attacks *(ka bonokwane)*.

Some thirty-six Boers and at least eighty-nine Batswana were killed. Given their total numbers the size of the Boer casualty was relatively high. Wrote Scholtz to Pretorius, "I must regretfully inform you that I have been obliged to disband the commando, owing partly to the weakness of horse and oxen and partly due to opposition among the men...moreover I greatly fear, since I cannot keep the commando intact to accomplish anything, that the Marico district will be unsafe...things have not worked out to my liking."

Scholtz' concern proved to be well founded for in the months that followed, Sechele, along with his allies, began raiding the Transvaal. By November 1852 one observer noted that, "All the Boers are still in laager, they have been in laager a long time. They dare not venture on their farms for fear of Sechele. Their cattle are dying fast being too many together, and disease is amongst them."

The success of the Batswana raiders is also apparent in contemporary press reports. One account spoke of the "natives" having "united in a strong body" against the Marico farmers, further noting, "Great destruction, of course, marked the progress of the conquering natives. Every [Boer] homestead has been burned, and standing corn, ripe for the sickle, together with vineyards and gardens, which then were in full bloom, have been entirely destroyed."

Boer desperation was soon manifested in calls for a peaceful settlement. The leader of the Boer peace party was an individual named Jan Viljoen. At the time of the Battle of Dimawe Viljoen, together with some other Boers, had been hunting and trading in Gammangwato. Their presence there coincided with the arrival of messengers from Sechele who called upon his fellow *dikgosi* living between Kudumane and the Zambezi to intercept and kill all Boers who attempted to pass through their respective territories. But, after consulting with his *kgotla* and the Bakwena, Kgosi Sekgoma I of the Bangwato decided to let Viljoen's party leave in peace. Sekgoma told Viljoen "Jannie, I love you and it is because of this that I let you go...I know you will come back to shoot me."

As it turned out Sekgoma was wrong. Upon his return Viljoen spoke out in opposition to Scholtz' desire to launch a second attack on Sechele, accusing the commandant of being "the sole cause of the losses of the Boers and the enmity of all the tribes". Meanwhile, by December 1852, President Pretorius was finding it impossible to reinforce the besieged Scholtz as his own authority began to crumble. At the time he wrote that if the Boer fortunes were not soon reversed they could vanish in the face of the growing ranks of their enemies

Viljoen met with Pretorius and obtained the

President's blessing to take up Sechele's offer of peace talks. Sechele told Viljoen that his precondition for establishing an armistice was the release of his son, Kgari, who had been captured and enslaved by the Boers. As a result, Pretorius personally purchased Kgari and turned him over to Viljoen.

Viljoen then set out to rendezvous with three of Sechele's representatives in order to release Kgari to them. However, while enroute Viljoen was detained by Scholtz, who wished to sabotage the peace process. In anger Viljoen publicly told Scholtz that "the thunder would fetch him". That same afternoon, as a large meeting gathered to listen to Scholtz call for continued war, lightning struck the laager killing half a dozen people. Scholtz was found "sitting on a case of seventy-five pounds of gunpowder, and the lightning penetrated between the box and his body; his legs and sides were burnt, and he stooped like a man of ninety". Alive, Scholtz exclaimed that the Lord in Heaven had spoken in favour of Viljoen's peace initiative.

Kgari was released and, after a period of further negotiations, an enduring peace was established. The *merafe* of Botswana remained at peace with the Boers from 1853 until the establishment of British colonial rule in 1885. In 1853 the Boers accepted the independence of the Batswana *merafe* living west of the Limpopo, Madikwe and Ngotwane rivers, who had united under Sechele's leadership. This boundary has survived until this day. Another important outcome was the settlement of many refugee communities in southeastern Botswana such as the Balete, Batlokwa, Bahurutse, Bakgatla Baga-Mmanaana and others.

How old is Botswana? Although the country achieved independence from Britain in 1966, it can be argued that the nation was born during the Batswana-Boer War of 1852-53.

An Account of How the Bangwato Broke Away from the Bakwena

Jeff Ramsay

The Bangwato people of Botswana derive their name from their earliest *kgosi*, Ngwato. But Ngwato, who must have lived many centuries ago, did not reign as an independent ruler. He was a Mokwena. According to most traditions both he and Ngwaketse were the younger brothers of Malope, an early Bakwena *kgosi*. Malope is said to have allowed his two brothers to set up their own *makgotla*. Over time these *makgotla* grew but for many generations the descendants of both Ngwato and Ngwaketse remained subordinate to the Bakwena *dikgosi*.

The Bangwato are known to have finally broken away from the Bakwena Baga-Kgabo of Molepolole during the mid-eighteenth century. Mathiba (the great-great grandfather of Khama III was their first independent ruler. But, according to oral traditions collected by London Missionary Society missionaries W C Willoughby and J T Brown at the turn of the century, as well as those subsequently gathered by the anthropologist Isaac Schapera during the nineteen thirties, Mathiba was not eager to become an independent ruler. These sources agree that he was forced into the position by circumstance.

Willoughby's traditions, which are located among his extensive collection of private papers, housed in the Shelley Oak College, near Birmingham, England, are the most detailed. According to these sources the Bangwato were living in a separate village at Boswelakgosi, close to the main Bakwena centre at Lentsweletau during the time of Mathiba's father, Moleta.

When Moleta died, his brother, Mokgadi succeeded him as regent *(motshwareledi)* on behalf of the still young Mathiba. Mokgadi was distrusted by Mmamathiba, who feared that he might try to make himself *kgosana* by killing her son. She therefore arranged to have Mathiba raised in the household of the then Bakwena *kgosi*, Motswasele I (the great-great grandfather of Sechele I).

Besides being Mokgadi's overlord, Motswasele was also the Bangwato regent's son-in-law. Motswasele had married Mokgadi's daughter Kgapwe (Kgapho). Being a polygamist, he then decided that he also wanted to marry Kgapwe's sister,

Moitsetsemane, who is also remembered as Kgapunyane (Little Kgapho). Mokgadi refused to give his consent to the marriage.

Embittered by Mokgadi's refusal, Motswasele approached Mathiba, who by now was a young man, to ask him of his view on the matter. Mathiba reportedly replied, "Why do you ask me? Am I the *kgosana*?" In this way, Mathiba showed his impatience with his uncle, who, as MmaMathiba had feared, was reluctant to relinquish power. Motswasele then told Mathiba, "You are not in power now, but if I make you *kgosana* then, what will be your attitude?" In this manner, Mathiba received permission to overthrow his uncle.

Under the cover of night, Mathiba, along with some accomplices, entered Mokgadi's house and strangled him in his sleep. The following morning, the Bangwato were shocked to find their leader's body. Some were able to trace Mathiba and his accomplices at the scene of the crime, so they went to Motswasele's *kgotla* to report their suspicions. But, to their surprise, Motswasele said that the suspects had all been with him the previous night. The Mokwena then commented on how mature Mathiba had become. In this way the Bangwato knew that Mokgadi's death had been sanctioned by the *kgosi*.

But the Bangwato resented the murder. One of Mokgadi's sons, Moongwe, was especially eager to take revenge. In the initial aftermath of his father's overthrow, he and his brothers fled from Mathiba's reach, but later they returned and pretended to accept their cousin's innocence.

Moongwe then set about poisoning Mathiba's relations with Motswasele. He told the Mongwato that he had many followers, while his Mokwena overlord had few friends. In this way Moongwe encouraged Mathiba to overstep his authority through such acts as giving the Bangwato permission to plough and castrate bullocks without first consulting Motswasele. However, the *kgosi* overlooked these transgressions.

Moongwe's opportunity finally came during the period of female initiation or *bojale*. He spread a false rumour that Motswasele's men were seizing the Bangwato cattle. With this accusation he was able to incite some of the Bangwato men into violating the *bojale* camp. There the mob humiliated two of Motswasele's wives by stripping them and sending them back to their husband.

The Bangwato soon realised the folly of their emotions, but it was too late. For Motswasele the attack on the *bojale* camp, and the humiliation of his wives meant war. The Bakwena *mephato* attacked the Bangwato at what has ever since been called Kgope Hill after the Mongwato warrior who died there.

At Kgope, Motswasele's warriors triumphed over those of Mathiba. The Bangwato fled north and settled near modern Shoshong, where they have since prospered and gradually spread their rule over other Central District communities.

The Prehistory of a Regional Museum

Hans C Vorting

Fifteen years have passed since the first initiatives were taken to establish a museum in Serowe. Looking back from the success of the now established Khama III Memorial Museum, it could be difficult to understand how hard it was to get it all started. Unfortunately our files on the development of the museum are incomplete, but some of the information might be useful to others who intend to establish a museum.

On the 16th December 1975 Mr Alec Campbell answered a letter from Mrs V Ruckert, Ngwato Land Board, concerning places of interest for tourism in Central District. Among a lot of other suggestions, Campbell also mentions the establishment of a small site museum at Thataganyane Rock in Serowe. This seems to have been accepted by the Ngwato Wildlife and Tourism Board, who in a later report write, "A museum will open soon...Mr Campbell proposed the reconstruction on the Thataganyane Rock of an original house and an iron melting site (the work should be done by students at the TTC). But perhaps it is better to preserve the rock as it is now, as a characteristic part of Serowe, than to change it by building something on it."

So the idea was officially on paper in 1975. The next record in our files showing further activities does not occur until 18th July 1986. A Museum Working Group has been established with Leapeetswe Khama as the Chairman. He sent out letters to potentially interested people, informing them that a group of Serowe residents had recently decided to form a Historical Society and asking them for support by becoming founder members. He writes, "The general aims of the society would be to preserve the prehistorical, historical and cultural heritage of the Bangwato and all other people who live or have lived in Central District, and to make this heritage available to both Batswana and visitors."

"This is a vast and long term task. The initial project to be undertaken by the Society was the establishing of a museum in Serowe in which to store and present to the public a number of items immediately available, mainly of an archaeological and archival nature to act as a base for future expansion...".

Most of the people so addressed gave a positive reply.

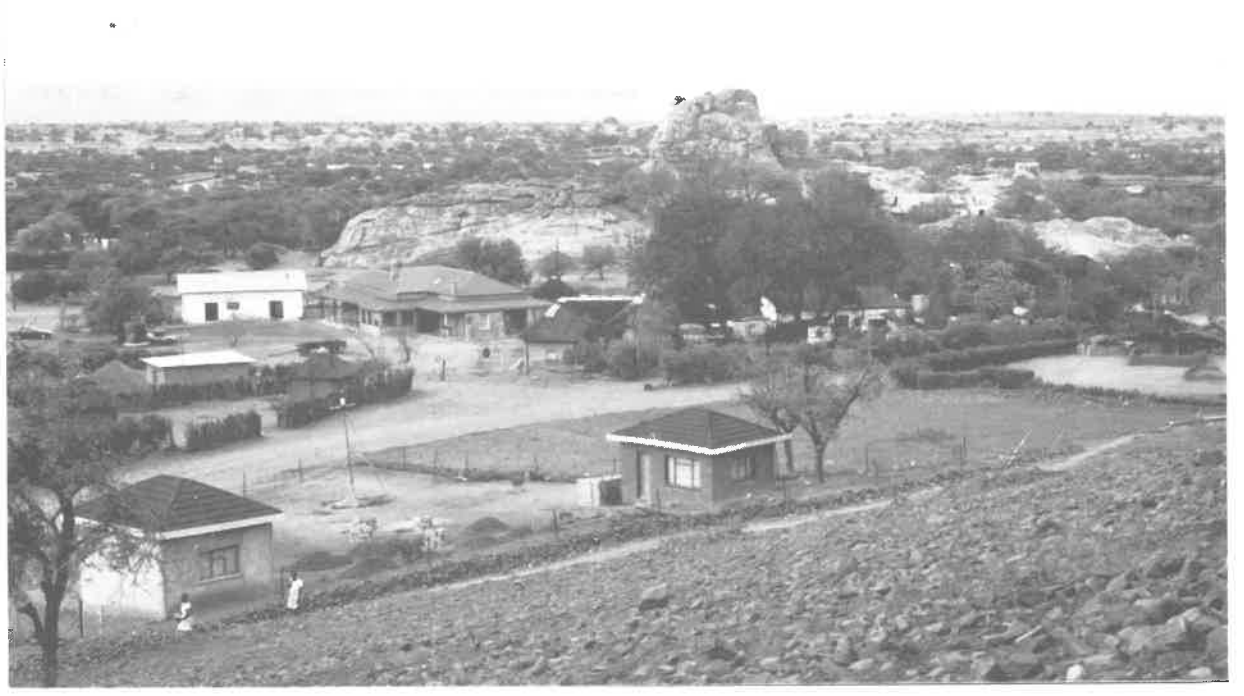

Figure 1 The museum at Serowe was eventually set up in the Tshekedi Khama guest house. The rock outcrop behind the red roofed museum is Thataganyane Rock where the original museum was planned.

Our file contains accepting and supporting letters from eleven persons, among others the District Commissioner, the Tribal Authority, the Director of the National Museum and the Government Archivist. His Excellency, the President, Sir Seretse Khama agreed to be the Patron of the project.

On the 5th of August, 1976 the Secretary of the Museum Working Group, Mr P S Ticher wrote to Baruti Solomon, United Congregation Church of Southern Africa (UCCSA), explaining the idea of the museum and asking permission to use part of the Thataganyane Rock and adjacent buildings for the project. About the same time he also wrote to potential resource people asking for assistance in connection with setting up an exhibition.

The answer from the UCCSA is dated 13th August and is signed G S Sekga, the Secretary, UCCSA, Serowe.

"The Church has approved your request as follows: 1) You are permitted to use permanently the large rondavel on the north of the rock. 2) You may also use temporarily part of the building which the church will allocate to you.

They note with pleasure that parts of the Museum outside the buildings will not be in anyone's way. May God help you in this worthwhile venture."

The Museum Working Group is also aware of the great importance of having "a person to run the Museum and look after the day to day business involved" as the Secretary Mr Tichner wrote on 1st October in an application for funding

from Canadian University Service Overseas. A qualified person seems to have been identified; an anthropologist called Bridget O'Connor. Another application was sent to The Swan Fund, Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford signed by a Committee member, Reverend G F Davies. In describing the project in the application Mr Davies also mentions the building which would later become the main museum building, "Opposite (the Thataganyane) is Tshekedi Khama's house, which later will also be incorporated into the Museum to display tribal history".

In November constitutions were elaborated and an application for registration sent to the Registrar of Societies. On the 11th December, 1976 Mr Tichner sent out invitations to the Inaugural General Meeting held on 22nd January 1977 at the London Missionary Society site near Thataganyane Rock in Serowe.

Unfortunately, both applications for funding for a curator were turned down, as was an approach to the Swedish Embassy.

The General Meeting was held and a small display of photographs and stone tools, which had been mounted in the rondavel was visited. It was decided that the Thataganyane Mission site was the preferable one for the future museum. Different plans for the future were discussed, such as the reconstruction of an old blacksmith's shop, restoration of an oxwagon, interviewing of old Serowe residents and reconstruction of an iron age kiln. It was also agreed that an effort should be made to get initial financial support locally in Serowe. Everybody was very optimistic and it looked as though the museum plans had received a good start. Unfortunately, the minutes of the Inaugural General Meeting of the Serowe Historical Society are the last papers in the file.

What happened and why did the Society not succeed in carrying out the museum plans? It is difficult to say exactly and the answers are not simple. The right initiatives seem to have been taken and members of the Museum Working Group were quite active. The failure to establish a museum cannot be assigned to those people.

However, it is one thing to take initiatives and present ideas and plans and quite another to carry them out. As mentioned the attempts to provide a paid curatorial position failed due to lack of funding. Other attempts to raise funds also failed, probably because there was no curator. Professional assistance is very necessary to get such a project started.

Another reason for the lack of success was the instability of the committee which consisted partly of people in public service who were transferred to other places. It seems that some of the more active officers elected at the Inaugural General Meeting had to leave Serowe within a comparatively short period after their election and they were not replaced. Lack of interest in the society in general towards an idea so

new and strange might be another reason.

But the idea did not die. Leapetswe Khama took a new initiative and a meeting was held on the 16th Mauy 1980 at Swaneng Hill School. The formation of another society called Ngwato Museum was suggested and a committee with Leapetswe Khama as the Chairman, V M Watson as the Secretary and Mr Batsweleng as the Treasurer was formed. The Chairman advised that the Red House and grounds would be available to the Society for the Museum and the Paramount Chief Seretse Khama Ian Khama should be asked to be patron. He later agreed. It was also decided on the basis of a letter from the entomologist Per Forchammer to contact DANIDA with regard to his assistance.

But it took another two years before the museum project really came to fruition, with different fund raising activities and new applications to donor agencies. The further and more successful development has been described in the article "Birth and Development of Khama III Memorial Museum" in Lekgapho the Khama III Memorial Museum Review 1988-89, Volume 1,1990.

Seretse Khama's Return Home, 1956©

Neil Parsons

Seretse Khama arrived back in Bechuanaland from exile at five in the afternoon on Wednesday October 10, 1956. He landed earlier that day in Southern Rhodesia at Salisbury's new international airport, where he had been met by Noel Redmond, the Francistown District Commissioner. Redmond then escorted Seretse on a small charter plane which flew to Francistown.

At Francistown airport Seretse was welcomed on the windy tarmac by his sister Oratile and by his uncles Tshekedi and Rasebolai. 'Tshekedi's hat was whipped off by the wind, but he hardly noticed it in the grip of the moment of friendship after years of dispute.' They could also hear the roar of thousands more come to greet Seretse at the airport gate.

The photographic record of Seretse's arrival at Francistown shows him and Tshekedi chatting amicably. John Millard, the divisional commissioner of the Northern Protectorate, hovers benignly behind them.

There is also a rather sinister figure visible between them in the background. A large white man in shirt-sleeves, with hands on hips, stands staring at them, next to a DC3 (Dakota) aircraft belonging to the Witswatersrand Native Labour Association (Wenela). The airport, with its runways for four-engined aircraft and an enormous hanger, had recently been built by Wenela. It is said to have been for a few years, the busiest airport in Africa south of the Sahara—bringing thousands of migrant workers from as far afield as Tanganyika and Angola to take the train from Francistown to the Johannesburg mines.

Francistown was abuzz with excitement and mounting speculation as to Seretse's future. Seretse apparently tried to address the crowd at the airport gate, holding out his arms 'like Billy Graham', but they carried on loudly jubilating. His car was mobbed as it went through the gate by 'thousands of men, women and children tightly packed', who jammed the progress of the car for maybe ten minutes. The police noted that the Bangwato present were sober, but many Francistown people—who would have included itinerant foreign workers—were exuberantly drunk.

The *Bulawayo Chronicle* reported: 'Men threw their hats into the air, and while some women flung themselves to the ground, others kissed the car's bonnet.' People jumped up on other vehicles to catch sight of Seretse, and his car slowly made its way to the offices of the divisional commissioner. Here, there was a short conference with the people who had met him at the airport, followed by an attempt to speak to the crowd outside. He could not be heard above the din.

It was now around nightfall, and Seretse was taken by car to stay overnight in the house of his sister Oratile, who lived in the African township at the south end of the 'European' streets of Francistown.

At mid-day on Thursday, Seretse's party left by road for the south. Late that afternoon Seretse received 'a noisy and enthusiastic welcome' at Palapye, before branching off on the poorly maintained dirt road to Serowe.

The last five miles into the capital were lined with cheering population. After reporting his arrival to the district commissioner, Seretse was taken through the crowds to Rasebolai's house—the Chief's residence behind the *kgotla*. The journalist Stanley Uys takes up the story at this point: 'The welcome in front of Rasebolai's house was fantastic. The crowd surged and swayed around Seretse, stretching out their hands to touch him, pat him, caress him. It was sheer joy.'

The *Bulawayo Chronicle* correspondent telephoned an even more dramatic story to his newspaper that evening. Seretse had gone into the tribal office at the back of the *kgotla*: 'as Seretse emerged from the office, the first crash of thunder split the air. Flashes of lightning followed each other and clouds erupted..."Seretse's home and it's raining," screamed the mob. "Seretse has brought the *pula*."'

Serowe was alive with rumours of plots to install the returning hero by force as true and rightful *kgosi*. Seretse took it upon himself to quash these rumours, and to contain public displays of emotion, which might jeopardize his chances of permanent return from exile. The colonial authorities were gratified to see that Seretse 'moving freely about the town, had a most calming effect'.

According to the Johannesburg *Star* Seretse 'virtually leaned over backwards to discourage demonstrations'. Seretse was recorded as 'soothing' groups of men and women, and his most hot-headed supporters such as Keaboka and Lenyeletse. Seretse agreed with Tshekedi and Rasebolai that the *kgotla* assembly planned to receive him back to the womb of the tribe should be delayed from the Saturday to the next Wednesday. Seretse tried to persuade women not to come to the meeting—a characteristic, if awkwardly expressed, attempt by Seretse to contain emotionalism in politics.

The welcoming *kgotla* assembly began at nine on the Wednesday morning. Between five and seven thousand, mostly male adults, attended. A photograph shows a delegation of four men and one women who came forward to

greet Seretse from the crowd. The men squat respectfully holding their hats, presenting themselves before dignitaries at the back of the *kgotla*, while the shawled woman kneels a metre behind them. Rasebolai and Chief Bathoen II of the Bangwaketse lean forward to listen from their *kgotla* chairs, while Seretse and Tshekedi lean back in their chairs against the *kgotla* poles, listening askance.

The meeting passed off cordially and quietly, with no uniformed police present: the security force having been kept back in its Francistown camp. Rasebolai introduced Seretse, who 'spoke at length and with great sincerity'. Other speakers followed, notably Keaboka, whose speech like Seretse's completely took the wind out of the sails of the young men in the crowd who might otherwise have tried to reinstall Seretse as *kgosi* by noisy acclamation in *kgotla*.

The only tense moment was when Seretse and Tshekedi declined to shake hands in public, after Chief Mokgosi III of Balete called on them to do so. Those at the back of the crowd did not hear a few elders at the front expressing their disapproval of the shaking of hands as an eccentric foreign custom.

International press coverage was constrained by the rapid turn of events in the world at large. The Suez crisis, with its culmination of the ceasefire of November 8th, was overtaken by publicity following the crushing of revolution in Hungary by Soviet tanks on November 5th. Press interest in Seretse and Bechuanaland did not last long. While British newspapers were relieved by Seretse's return, South African newspapers were either offended by the fuss, like an editorial in the *Rand Daily Mail*, or pessimistic like a correspondent of *The Star* ('My view is that the troubles of the Bamangwato are not over.')

A lengthy editorial at the end of October in the Pretoria newspaper *Die Transvaler*, the voice of the Strijdom-Verwoerd faction in the government attacked British plans for 'a tribal advisory council' among the Bangwato, as 'a form of Western democratic control which completely departs from tribal traditions...which the Union Government applies to South African Native Areas.' Furthermore the development of mineral concessions would give the Bangwato the financial and political clout to insist that Bechuanaland should not be transferred to the Union.

These arguments were taken up overseas by *The Scotsman* newspaper two weeks later from a different political perspective, in a long article entitled 'Apartheid as a boomerang'. The 'real story' according to *The Scotsman*, was that with Seretse's return, Bechuanaland could now develop rich deposits of 'copper, chrome and zinc', which 'opens up the unwelcome prospect of an independent Black state on the borders of the Union.' The Bangwato would need foreign capital and white people to help develop their mines, but would be averse to bringing in South African whites with

apartheid ideas. The Bangwato could thereby 'give a strong lead' to 'the Liberal wing of African opinion in the Union who favour cooperation with the whites'.

The official response of the South African Government to Seretse's return home was, as anticipated, muted. South Africa's High Commissioner in London, Dr J E Holloway, delivered a memorandum to the Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO) seeking clarification about Britain's intentions for the political development of Bechuanaland.

Holloway was anxious not to be seen as interfering in Britain's patch. No doubt the CRO had made him fully aware of its resentment of Strijdom's 'solemn warning' in July. Strijdom, on his return to London, had broadcast blunt advice to Britain to harmonize its administration of the High Commission Territories with that of South Africa in its 'Bantu' areas. Ironically, South Africa's particular concern was Britain's possible development of white settlement in Bechuanaland, which the Tomlinson Report had designated as a purely black territory—and whose incorporation would increase the 'Bantu' areas of South Africa from under thirteen to around forty-five percent of the total land mass.

Now there was the further threat to white South Africa, highlighted by the return home of Seretse and its boost to the political ambitions of Tshekedi, of the political development of self-government of Bechuanaland through local and territorial councils.

The idea of 'democratizing' tribal government in Bechuanaland had been talked about by British governments since 1950, as a pretext for keeping Seretse out of the country. There had been no such reform in the Bangwato Reserve by 1956.

Some outside observers thought they saw 'an infant council system' in the Bangwaketse and Bakgatla reserves; but they also detected 'subtle resistence' on the part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate colonial administration, which was 'not really in sympathy with reform'. One district commissioner told Professor Galbraith that as far as he was concerned 'any system which works is democratic'.

Meanwhile Seretse continued to travel through the Bangwato Reserve during the rest of October 1956 to be welcomed by his people and to renounce his chieftainship. He was accompanied by his uncles Tshekedi and Rasebolai, and by the current district commissioner of the Reserve, Jimmy Allison.

After *kgotla* meetings in Mahalapye, Shoshong, Sefhare and Palapye in the south, Seretse was dog-tired because of the unfamiliar extreme heat of the dry season. It was agreed to have one more meeting, at Sebina village in the troubled north. Sebina was considered necessary to help quell trouble-spots in the north. The nearby Kalanga village of Nshakashogwe was refusing to move to a new site; the 'remote but hot-headed settlement' of Gweta near the Makgadikgadi

Pans had recently needed to be pacified by a visit of the security force from Francistown; and the Khurutshe town of Tonota, on the Shashe River south of Francistown, was as ever resisting the rule of Okame, its sub-chief nominated by Rasebolai.

Seretse addressed all Kalanga headmen of the Bangwato Reserve and other 'tribesmen' in the village *kgotla* at Sebina on October 28th. Even the aged John Nswazwi II, Tshekedi's great enemy and leader of the Kalanga separatists, returned temporarily from exile in Southern Rhodesia to witness Seretse's new coming.

Seretse duly announced his renunciation of heredity office and appealed for all differences to be buried. But the assembly showed unease about the presence of Tshekedi, muttering against him when he spoke in public. One young man, probably from either Nkange or Tutume villages, insisted in addressing the assembly in the Ikalanga language rather than in Setswana. He also made no attempt to hide his loathing of Tshekedi.

Divisional Commissioner Millard was extremely pleased in his confidential newsletter ('Northern Division Tergos) for October 1956. 'Seretse's handling of a very difficult situation in which he found himself has been superb.' Seretse, Tshekedi and even Rasebolai were all pulling together. The omens were good for the new council system under their leadership, though 'the young radicals', the 'intelligentsia' might take advantage of 'democracy' 'unhampered by chieftainship'.

A subsequent intelligence report noted with satisfaction that all signs of unrest had disappeared. School attendances were up, taxes were coming in, and the prospect of councils was filling the vacuum of the future in the minds of the Bangwato.

Ruth Khama and the two children followed Seretse, arriving at Serowe in early November, causing no great sensation and settling down 'fairly happily'. The family moved into a European style house (since demolished) in the area now known as the Serowe Mall, a series of charming photographs was taken of the family together again in Africa. Millard obviously did not warm to Ruth Khama, but saw a much greater threat in Seretse's convivial cousin Lenyeletse Seretse:

'A regular visitor to the house in Serowe is Lenyeletse, smart, well educated and intelligent, at the same time violently anti-European and bitter, also a booser [sic]. One can only hope that this man and his friends do not have a bad influence on Seretse who has started off so well. Fortunately, Seretse and Rasebolai are already bosom companions, and the latter is bound to have a good effect on Seretse and his outlook.'

Seretse was encouraged by the atmosphere of rising political expectations in the Bangwato Reserve.

In November he appeared, together with Tshekedi and

Rasebolai, before the contentious *kgotla* of the Bakhurutshe 'allied tribe' at Tonota. Boiling resentment of Tshekedi, dating back decades, was constrained because 'people would have liked to have aired past grievances at the meeting but were held in check by fear of the Government sending SK back to the UK.'

People came to see Seretse at Serowe with their grievances. He was particularly alive to their complaints over unfair trade and transport monopolies wielded by the Bo-Rametsana placeman at Tonota, their sub-chief, Okame. Seretse is reported to have said: "All these licences should be shared out so that most people can have a chance to open a business no matter how small."

Tshekedi disappeared to France for a fortnight in November, to attend the Council of Europe at Strasbourg, to whom he was acting as a development consultant. On his return, according to Millard, 'I have never seen a man so full of bounce.' Meanwhile, Seretse and Rasebolai got to know each other so well that by December they were described as 'constant companions'.

The discussion of future developments also extended to the local colonial administration. Young and affable Jimmy Allison, politically sympathetic to Seretse, was acting temporarily as Serowe district commissioner for the first month after Seretse arrived. Allison and his subordinate district officers consulted widely about current concerns which he thought should be considered by a reformed tribal council, and left the list as his leaving present for Rasebolai, Tshekedi and Seretse.

The district commissioner who returned from long leave in mid-November 1956 was Bruce Rutherford, an administrator of the 'tough' white settler school, who had first assisted and then succeeded Batho in charge of the Serowe district. Rutherford proved to be most unsympathetic to Seretse, placing him under strict surveillance.

Rutherford's wife, Jessie, was even less sympathetic towards Ruth Khama; as *grande dame* of the white community at Serowe, Jessie seems to have seen it as her duty to make Ruth unwelcome and thereby to induce Ruth to return to England. Even the resident London Missionary Society missionary Reverend Alan Seager, proved to be hostile. Forty years later it is difficult, because it is painful, for people to recall the extent of racial segregation that prevailed at Serowe in the 1950s, even between white and black intellectuals who otherwise had much in common.

Partly this reflected the triumph of apartheid ideas in neighbouring South Africa, but official coldness towards Seretse and Ruth was also no doubt the result of deliberate policy set by Sir Percivale Leisching, Britains' High Commissioner in Pretoria. He was an enemy of Tshekedi since 1933 and of Seretse since 1949 and made it plain that he was anxious to take down the Bangwato a peg or two.

A Rich Past: Archaeological Surveying in the Mokgware Hills Area

A K Segobye

It is sometimes difficult to imagine the past as a time when people lived in abundant wealth with ample resources. This is more difficult if it is in a place where people currently struggle for self-sufficiency in subsistence economies, not to mention surplus resources for trade or exchange. We have been doing archaeological reconnaissance surveying in the Mokgware Hills in east central Botswana for the last five months. The picture emerging from our preliminary data suggests an affluent society with interesting settlement systems during the Early Iron Age (EIA) spanning from about the 8th century AD to the 19th century. This time frame stretches our past beyond the confines of oral histories which usually fail to take us beyond a few generations.

This survey focusing on the Mokgware Hills began in February 1991 though plans for it date back to 1987 when I joined colleagues from the University of Botswana's Geology Department on a short trip to Kutswe Pass. This brief excursion convinced me that the area held great archaeological potential. At the time not much had been written about the archaeology of the area. To my knowledge few sites had been documented save for the work of Jim Denbow[1].

The Mokgware Hills comprises a range of high hills stretching from Radisele in the east and petering out near Moiyabana village on the edge of the Kalahari sandveld. The area falls within the Central District under the custonianship of the Khama III Memorial Museum in Serowe which has been our base for the project. Like other hill ranges in this district it is shrouded in the legends of settlement by refugees running away from the Amandebele and Bakololo war units of the late 19th century Mfecane wars. The archaeological evidence suggests these hills hosted more people at earlier times than we thought to be possible.

In June 1988 with the aid of a research assistant, I revisited the area for a longer field survey. We located and documented fifteen sites, six of which were middens with vitrified cow dung covered with *Cenchrus ciliaris* (buffalo grass). These sites were EIA sites characterised by decorated pottery, ostrich shell beads, *daga* (burnt or dried clay brick), iron slag and tuyeres. On the basis of this data and my keen

interest in landscape and settlement archaeology, I planned for a bigger and more comprehensive project encouraged by oral reports suggesting the presence of a lot of sites in the area. The project, which forms the basis of my doctoral research, focuses on land use and settlement history in this diverse landscape. One of the goals of the research is to document and map the distribution of sites in the region and to highlight patterns that emerge from past settlement systems. Some sites were previously unmapped, while others were already documented.

East central Botswana is generally a favourable region for settlement archaeology. Other researchers from the University of Botswana and the National Museum[2] have worked on EIA sites in the region. The main attraction of this area is the richness of the evidence linking large scale cattle production, crop and metal production as key economic pursuits in a growing settlement area. Settlement density, land and natural resource utilisation may, with this new evidence, challenge the current ideas on settlement pattern and resource use. The growth patterns of these settlements suggests the expansion of individual settlement complexes and the duplication of existing settlement systems by establishing micro units in the same form as the parent community. A feature that we can relate to as it is typical of Tswana settlement systems of the last two centuries.

My project covers an area forty kilometres by twenty kilometres, east to west between Mokgware and Moiyabana and north to south between Itsokwane 1, Bojalakhudu, Nakalaphala, Morongwa lands and Mooko, Kaleke and Ruthwane cattleposts. We have walked more than 80km^2 of randomly sampled 1 kilometre square areas.

We have located and mapped eighty-eight sites. Over ninety percent of them are EIA settlements associated with open ash or vitrified cow dung middens with an average size of fifty metres in width. They are all characterised by an overgrowth of *Cenchrus ciliaris* grass. The sites also have residential units indicated by *daga* floors and stone burial cairns and in some cases pot burials located on the fringes of the middens; a classic southern Bantu settlement pattern [3]. Finds in these sites include metal objects (copper and iron) ostrich shell, glass and iron beads, clay figurines (mostly human) and a cowrie shell. This is a rare find for this area as it is a marine shell. All the sites had an abundance of pottery.

The abundance of natural resources for exploitation such as iron ore in the hills, abundant pastoral land and pockets of fertile soils in the plains made this area attractive for settlers to this area. Sites like Bojalekhudu, Mmasephanka and Kaleke Hill bear witness to the presence of exploited natural resources in close proximity to the economic activity areas. From the number and size of the iron working sites and the cow dung middens, the exploitation of these resources was intensive. We have documented more that eighty

sites in the sampled research area each with a component of economic activity such as iron working and cattle breeding.

The survey was started in the plateau area of hills like Skekeme, Moretlwe, Selepa, Tsibakgolo, Mmasetlhoapula, Sadikgabo, Kompone, Ramalete and Ramosrotsi and BPS 26. Almost all these plateau areas had EIA middens. We surveyed the cultivated lands starting with Dikukumuro, Itsokwane, Mogorosi, Lesi, Phate, Nakalaphala and Bojalekhudu. To our surprise we found many middens on low ground even in the middle of cultivated fields. We enjoyed field walking through ploughed fields and picking up EIA potsherds in the furrows. We recorded more than twenty such low ground ash and vitrified dung middens.

The most interesting pattern emerging from the survey so far is the consistency with which EIA attributes occur on the sites despite their location or size. These attributes are EIA decorated pottery, *Cenchrus ciliaris* covered middens with vitrified cow dung on iron working sites associated with slag and tuyeres and pole impressed *daga* construction. At least five different types of burial structures emerge in this region. These are the egg shaped piled stone burial cairns, the circular piled stone cairns, the stone circle with a central stone, a perfect circle without a central stone and pot burials. Apart from the pot burials, it is not possible in the absence of excavation data or information on past funery practises to prove that these constructions are in fact burials.

Another striking factor about all these sites is the over abundance of pottery. We have recorded a sherd density of more than sixty sherds per square metre for most of these sites suggesting active pottery production industries. Pots produced were large and heavily built judging from the average thickness and size of the sherds recorded on site or collected. Most hill and *kopje* sites like Phate, Mmasephanka and Bojalekhudu have a lot of small circular stone enclosures which may be burials judging from their form and distribution.

The area has two large iron ore bearing localities which probably account for the numerous large and small iron working areas we found on the sites. Most seem to have been independent small scale production while some appear to have been large units with furnaces of about two metres. We have not found large slag heaps near any of the sites though small disposal middens are scattered here and there.

We have yet to find direct evidence pointing to agricultural production but we were delighted to find an iron hoe on Bojelakhudu site in association with EIA artifacts. Some of the local vegetation and plant types may well indicate areas of early agriculture. This is suggested by preliminary interviews with local farmers whose immense knowledge of the local flora has been useful in our research. We have however found one site, Phate Hill, with terracing which is usually strongly linked to cultivation. Other than this we

have consistently been finding grinding stones and grinders which are also part of a cereal producing agricultural system.

Since our research programme extends beyond simple site location and mapping, we plan to conduct extensive oral interviews to compile an ethnographic data base on topics ranging from farming to craft manufacture. We have already received a lot of support and encouragement from our local hosts in Dikukumuro lands and other neighbouring settlements. Most have been quick to show us sites and explain the mysteries of the area.

We concluded the survey with an extensive excursion to other sites in the district starting with the capital Serowe and then going to the iron working sites in the Tswapong Hills. This tour was most educational as it demonstrated the networks and geographic extent of the settlement system we were beginning to uncover in the Mokgware Hill.

In Serowe we visited four low ground vitrified dung middens with Khama III Memorial Museum Assistant Curator Rogoff Modise. Local reports indicate that a lot of sites stood on the ridges and hills with the expansion of the village where the current settlements are now located. Remnants of these settlements can be seen featuring stone circles, ground level stone wall enclosures and an abundance of pottery, beads and bone material. It would no doubt be interesting to take the growth of this traditional Tswana village back a few centuries and map the dynamics of its growth in time and space. The cultural remains on the sites we visited or were informed about show a preference for raised ground rather than the low lying plains.

We also had the opportunity to visit Bosutswe and Toutswemogala which are two of the largest EIA hills sites in the region with ash and vitrified dung middens. These sandstone outcrops are also located in flat plains occasionally broken by these hill outcrops. The circular stone features which we thought were graves in the Mokgware Hills are also present on these sites. Pottery decorations were strikingly similar to those found on our surveyed sites. However, the extent of this relationship needs to be more firmly established before we can draw parallels between these sites and others in the district where similar features and artifacts have been found[4].

In the Tswapong Hills at Majwaneng village, we encountered another aspect of EIA economic production system. This hill range with its rich natural iron ore resources boasts a large mining and smelting area. Judging by the quantity of byproducts, it probably serviced a large area beyond the local needs for iron products. The distribution range of these products needs to be mapped to illustrate how widely goods were exchanged beyond their production area.

Most of the sites in this region, especially those located in towns are under serious threat. They are daily undergoing

modifications in the changing landscape most of which are destructive. These changes, a result of both human and natural action, should be tackled with a comprehensive site preservation strategy. This strategy is best devised through the national and regional museum structure in conjunction with researchers who are in the field appraising sites. Even sites located in under-utilised areas like the Mokgware Hills are under threat from animal disturbance. Middens are badly burrowed by rodents and rabbits whilst artefacts and features are trampled by livestock and wild animals. Possibly an initial strategy would be a community oriented project to rescue and protect such sites as Thataganyane in Serowe. Such a project could serve the double purpose of heritage awareness education at a community level and preserving at least part of these archaeological sites for future generations. Informal discussions with the curators of Khama III Memorial Museum, Mr Hans Vorting and Mr Rogoff Modise and people living near the sites indicates that there would be a lot of support for such a project. A lot of respect has been expressed by people for these aspects of the past, especially the pottery making industry. The intricate decorations and good quality of clays used have been pointed out as good artisanship on the part of the predecessors in this landscape.

One can hope that as we reconstruct these facets of the past, we keep track of the need to preserve those remaining monuments lest they become inaccessible in their original landscapes. Museums as cultural houses are an ideal way to illustrate aspects of our heritage, but the past, where the physical remains are still available, is best displayed in its natural context. Balancing site preservation and rescue archaeology should be a part of our research agendas both at professional and community levels.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to my research assistants who have been working with me in this area, our local hosts in Dikukumuro lands, Serowe District Council personnel and the staff of the Khama III Memorial Museum in Serowe for extending their hospitality and work expertise to assist us in this project. Thanks are due also to colleagues in the Geology department especially Professor Vink who joined us in the field and interpreted the geological setting of these sites to us. *Le ka moso betsho.*

Notes

1. Denbow has worked extensively on EIA sites in the Central District. His results are contained in various published and unpublished papers and in his doctoral thesis entitled "Iron Age Economics: Herding Wealth and Politics along the Fringes of the Kalahari during the Early Iron Age".

2. The Archaeology Units of the University of Botswana and theNational Museum have over the last few years been working on various projects in the Central Disctrict concerning settlement history and socio-economic organisations of EIA societies.

3. See Huffman T (1986) "Iron Age settlement patterns and the origins of class distinction in southern Africa" in Wendorf, F and Close A (Eds) Advances in World Archaeology 5 pp 291-338.

4. Kiyaga-Mulindwa's ongoing project on the Lose Hill site settlement complex and Majwaneng iron working sites on the Tswapong Hills provide an useful comparative framework for the Mokware Hills project.

The Serowe Insect Collection

Per Forchhammer

The Serowe Insect Collection was started in 1982 in two former classrooms at the Farmers' Brigade in Serowe in an attempt to create interest in entomological studies in Botswana which is still one of the the least investigated countries as far as the insect fauna is concerned.

There were three main aims of this project. First, to build up a classified reference collection of Botswana insects, second to establish a small natural history museum in Serowe and third to carry out scientific research in the Serowe area.

The classified reference collection has indeed been established. More than seventy scientists, specialists in various groups of insects, at museums and universities in places as far apart as California and west Australia, have been classifying material from Botswana and have returned this material to Serowe.

The insect collection is now the home of tens of thousands of insects of which more than a thousand species have been classified to include more than forty genera and species from Serowe that are new to science.

Material has been collected using a mercury vapour light that attracts millions of night active insects and Malaise traps that mainly trap dayflying insects. Most of the material was collected in Serowe at Swaneng Hill School (1977-81) and at the Farmers' Brigade (1982-91). Insects, mainly the long-horned beetles and short-horned grasshoppers were also collected intensively in Tanzania (1969-73) and in Zambia (1974-76). A smaller part of the collection originates from South Africa and other African countries.

The small natural history museum was ready in 1986 and contains displays of all major groups of Botswana insects and special displays of harmful and useful insects, venomous arthropods of Botswana, mimicry, Bushman poison arrow beetles and the new genera and species of insects from Serowe. Since 1988, small mammals, snakes and other reptiles, amphibians and scorpions have also been on display.

Unfortunately there has been very little interest in this project in Botswana and it has not been possible to find funding support for professional and local assistance so the museum has never been open to the general public. It has

however been visited by more than 1,500 people from over 32 countries.

With the basis of the collection it has been possible to carry out scientific research in the Serowe area, particularly on the acitivity patterns of various groups of African insects in relation to meteorological conditions and vegetation development.

Monthly records of precipitation, wind velocity, morning, noon and afternoon temperatures have been kept and with this information it is possible to relate the influence of many years of drought on the animal and plant life in the area.

With the publication of R Auerbach's book, "Amphibians and Reptiles of Botswana" in 1987 it became possible to include these groups in the study of Serowe fauna since they could be identified.

The list of some of the groups living in the Serowe bush ecosystem inlcudes:

Mammal	26 species	9 new records
Birds	318 species	
Snakes	26 species	9 new records
Other reptiles	25 species	7 new records
Amphibians	9	7 new records
Scorpions	10	
Insects (estimate)	10-15,000	40 new records

Collecting specimens is the basis of all taxonomic research and the publications listed in a later article demonstrate how cooperation between a man in the bush collecting material at the same locality year round with taxonomists at scientific institutions can extend the information about the fauna of a certain area. The work done at Serowe and other southern African locations has supplied material for several comprehensive publications such as "The Grasshoppers of Tanzania", The Grasshoppers of Zambia", "The Grasshoppers of Botswana", "The Butterflies of Botswana", "The Anthicidae of Botswana", "The Snakes of Serowe" and "The Butterflies of Serowe".

Serowe is today one of the better investigated localities for insects in southern Africa, but it has not been possible to find a way to perpetuate the project and develop the Serowe Insect collection into a permanent research institution. However, thanks to the initiative of the Director of the National Museum, the valuable Serowe collections may eventually be saved for Botswana and find a home in the Natural History Department instead of ending up in one of the large museum in Europe or North America.

Publications Relating to the Serowe Insect Collections

Per Forchhammer

Publications with an asterisk mention material from Botswana.

Boulard, Michel 1980
Cicadoidea nouveaux de l'Afrique sud-orientale. Bull. de la Soc. Ent. de France, Vol. 85, pp 165-72.
With the description of a new species of cicada, *Koma intermedia* n. sp. from Chingola, Zambia.

Broadley, D G 19908*
Lamphrosis aurora (L) from Botswana. J. Herp. Assoc. Afr.: 56.
This record from Serowe, Botswana is the first record of the Aurora House Snake outside the Republic of South Africa.

Eardley C D 1991*
The Melectini in Sub-saharan Africa *(Hymenoptera: Anthoporinae)*. Entomology Memoir. Department of Agricultural Development No 82 pp 1-49
With a description of *Thyreus forchhammeri* sp nov, a new bee from Botswana.

Day Michael C 1984*
The enigmatic genus *Heterogyna (Hymenoptera: Sphecidae, Heterogynidae)*. Systematic Entomology, Vol. 9, pp 293-307.
With the description of *Heterogyna botswana* from Farmers' Brigade in Serowe. The genus is only recorded from Rhodes, Madagascar and Serowe.

Forchhammer, Per 1981*
Evolution of diurnal activity in some of the higher taxa of long-horned beetles *(Coleoptera, Cerambycidae)*, Part I. Natura Jutlandica, Vol. 19, pp 91-106.
Based on the theory of continental drift, present distribution and activity-patterns, it has been attempted to determine the relative age of some of the main groups of longhorned beetles.

Forchhammer, Per 1983*
Hvordan dyrene far navne. Naturens Verden (4), pp. 152-60.

Forchhammer, Per 1984*
The Serowe Museum Insect Collection. Mmegi wa Dikgang, Vol 1, No 4.

Forchhammer, Per 1984*
The Ice Ages. Mmegi wa Dikgang, Vol. 2, No. 17.

Forchhammer, Per 1985*\
Seasonal and daily variations in activity of ant-like flower-beetles *(Anthicidae)* collected in Serowe, 1982-83. Botswana Notes and Records, Vol. 17, pp 163 74.

Forchhammer, Per and Breuning, Stephan 1986*
Annotated list of *Cerambycidae*, subfamily *Lamiinae* collected in Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana, 1969-80 with description of 86 new taxa. Contributions to the knowledge of Ethiopian *Cerambycidae*, Part II, Vol. 22(1), pp 1-72.
Dealing with 290 species of *Lamiinae* collected in these countries, with numerous first records of genera ad species and with the description of 86 genera and species new to science.

Forchhammer, Per 1987*
Seasonal and nightly variations in nocturnal activity in longhorned bettles *(Cerambycidae)* in Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana, 1969-80. Contributions to the knowledge of Ethiopian *Cerambycidae*, Part III. Natura Jutlandica, Vol 22(6), pp 101-130.

Forchhammer, Per 1987*
Annotated list of 102 genera and 405 species of long-horned beetles, *(Cerambycidae*, subfamily *Lamiinae)*, recorded as light-attracted in the Ethiopian Region. Contributions to the knowledge of Ethiopian *Cerambycidae*, Part IV. Natura Jutlandica, Vol 22(7), pp 133-154.
With 265 records from Tanzania, Zambia and Botswana

Forchhammer, Per and Wang, Qiao 1987*
Subfamily distribution and composition of the longhorn beetles of China. Journal of Biogeography, Vol 14(6), pp 583-93.

Forchhammer, Per 1989*
The Killer Snakes of Botswana (Serowe) Mmegi wa Dikgang Vol 6, No11, pp. 8-9

Forchhammer, Per 1990*
Comments on the outbreak of bubonic plague in Botswana 1989. Mmegi wa Dikgang, Vol 7, No 3, pp. 8-9.

Forchhammer, Per 1990*
Preliminary Survey of the Fauna of Serowe. Lekgapho Khama

III Memorial Museum Review. Vol 1, pp 1-15.

Johnsen, Palle 1974
Two new brachypterous species of *Tropidiopsis* I. Bolivar from Tanzania *(Acrididae: Eyprepocnemidinae)* Natura Jutlandica Vol 17, pp 61-74.
With the description of *Tropidiopsis forchhammeri* n. sp. from Tanzania.

Johnsen, Palle and Forchhammer, Per 1974
Description of the male *Plagiotriptus alcus* (Bolivar 1914) from Tanzania *(Acridomorpha: Eumastacoidea)*. Natura Jutlandica, Vol 17 pp 77-83.
Material from Mufindi, Tanzania.

Johnsen, Palle and Forchhammer, Per 1975
Check list of *Acridomorpha* of Tanzania (*Insecta-Orthoptera*) Natura Jutlandica, Vol 16 pp 26-52.
Based on own collections in Tanzania and with the description of *Odontomelus micropterus* n. sp.

Johnsen, Palle and Forchhammer, Per 1978*
Checklist of the short-horned grasshoppers *(Acridomorpha)* of Rhodesia *(Insecta: Orthopteroidea)* Natura Jutlandica Vol 20 pp 227-36.

Johnsen, Palle 1982*
New records of short-horned grasshoppers from Botswana with a description of *Rhodesiana cuneicerca* n. sp. Botswana Notes and Records, Vol 12, pp 23-33.
These are the first records of thirty-one species of grasshoppers from Botswana with the description of the new species *R. cuneicerca* from Serowe.

Johnsen, Palle 1982
Icmalides chingolensis no sp. *(Eumastacoidea: Therecleidae)* aus Zambia. Articulata, Bd. 1 Folge 20, pp 235-7.

Johnsen, Palle 1982-87
Acridoidea of Zambia, Volumes 1 through 7
Zoological Laboratory. University of Aarhus, Denmark 505 pp
These publications are to a large extent based on the collections in Chingola, Zambia. 304 species were recorded of 121 genera, included first records of 1 genus and 10 species.

Johnsen, Palle and Kevan, D 1984
Parasphenella forchhammeri n. sp. from Tanzania *(Acridoidea-Pyrgomorphidae: Pyrgomorphini)*. Natura Jutlandica, Vol 21 (5) pp. 61-67

Johnsen, Palle 1986*
Two new grasshoppers *Plagiotriptus* sp. n. and *Pseudotristis*

Figure 1 Collecting insects requires some unusual positions: Per Forchhammer investigates some of the insects attracted to the outside light at his Insect Museum in Serowe.

sp. n. from sub-Saharan Africa. Articulata Vol II (9) pp 341-8. With the description of *Pseudotristis isabellae* sp. n. from Ngamiland, Botswana.

Johnsen, Palle 1990*
Acridoidea of Botswana Part I, pp 129
Zoological Laboratory, University of Aarhus, Denmark.
162 species have been recorded from Botswana and 57 species have been dealt with in Part I.

Johnsen, Palle 1990*
A new genus and three new species of *Acridoidea* with notes on some lesser known species from southern Africa. *(Orthoptera)*.
With a description of *Chokwea forchhammeri* n sp. collected in a Malaise trap at the Farmer's Brigade in Serowe.

Johnsen, Palle 1991*
Acridoidea of Botswana Part II pp 1-284 Zoological Laboratory, University of Arhus, Denmark.

Krombein, Karl 1986 *
A remarkable new African *Amisegine* wasp (*Hymenoptera: Chrysididae: Amigseginae*). Proc. Entomol. Soc. Wash, 91 (4) pp 620-31.
With the description of *Anachrysis n. b. paradoxa* n. sp from

Farmers' Brigade in Serowe. This was is a parasite on the eggs of stick insects.

Krombein, Karl 1989*
Systematic notes on some *Bethylidae* from Botswana: *Pristocerinae (Hymenoptera: Aculeata).* Proc. Entomol. Sco. Wash., 91 (4) pp 98-105.
With the description of a new species of wasp, *Apnesia forchhammeri* and of the previously unknown females of two other species from Farmers's Brigade in Serowe.

Krombein, Karl 1990*
Systematic notes on some *Bethylidae* from Botswana: *Epyrinae, (Hymenoptera: Aculeata).* Proc. Entomol. Soc. Wash. 92 (1) pp 98-105.
With the description of *Calyozina caperata* n. sp. from Farmers's Brigade in Serowe. This genus has only been recorded from South America, Taiwan and Serowe.

Kvist, Anders 1989*
The Birds of Serowe and its Surroundings. The Babbler Vol. 18, pp5-33.
This study was carried out mainly at the Farmers' Brigade. In 1987-88, after good rains, fifty-one species of water birds were recorded at the reservoir at the farm. A total of 318 birds have now been recorded for Serowe.

Londt, Jason 1983*
The genus *Dapletis*, Loew and the description of two new genera *Anasillomos* and *Remotomyia (Diptera: Asilidae)* J Ent. Soc Sth Afr., Vol. 46 (2), pp 263-308.
With the description of two new robber flies from Serowe.

Ritchie, J M 1987
Taxonomy of the African *Acridoid* fauna: Progress and Prospects 1970-85. In Evolutionaly Biology of *Orthopteroid* Insects by B. Bacetti, pp 455-69.This publication refers to publications by Johnsen and Forchhammer.

Van Hille, J C 1984*
Monograph on *Aulacoderus* La Ferte, a subgenus of *Anthicus* Paykull *(Coleoptera: Anthicidae).* Ann Cape Prov Mus (Nat. Hist.) Vol 15 (1) pp 1-171
With the description of *Aulacoderus kochi* n. sp. from Farmers's Brigade

Van Hille, J C 1985*
Anthicidae (Coleoptera: Heteromera) collected in Botswana, 1982-83. Botswana Notes and Records Vol 17, pp 149-82.
With the classification of 17 species from Serowe.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to thank all the scientists, too numerous to mention by name, who have contributed to the publications listed in this article and who have identified material from the Serowe collection. The author is also grateful to the Danish Natural Science Research Council who supported the project from 1980 to 1991 and all the staff and trainees at the Farmers' Brigade whose great efforts in collecting were responsible for many of the new records.

The Bessie Head Papers

Ruth Forchhammer

On the 1 April 1985 Bessie Head wrote in the Khama III Memorial Museum guest book: "This Museum is going to be of great value." Little did she know that about twelve months later her own manuscripts, letters and books would be deposited in the archives of the very same museum. When Bessie died in April 1986 the museum bought her literary remains.

Financially supported by DANIDA through Danish Voluntary Service since 1986 cataloguing and registration of the Bessie Head Papers (and the Khama Family Papers which are also deposited in this museum) have been carried out. The work on Bessie Head Papers may be completed by the end of this year, whereas it will still take sometime to complete the Khama Papers.

According to the latest count, the Bessie Head Papers comprise just over 400 correspondences with friends, other writers, agents, organisations, universities and schools. In most cases Bessie kept carbon copies of her letters, which, of course, adds to the value of the collection.

In addition there are manuscripts of short stories and novels, note books, book reviews, articles by other writers, interviews, dissertations, Christmas cards, birthday cards, and quite a few photographs. It is a precious collection of memorabilia of one of southern Africa's famous black writers.

The museum can also boast of a full set of Head's books, new editions as well as translations into Dutch, German, Norwegian Swedish, Finnish, Danish and before long, Japanese.

Several of Bessie's correspondantsdonated to the museum photocopies of letters she wrote to them and even original letters, some of them aerogrammes of which the museum did not have copies, as often, when Bessie collected her mail from the Post Office, she replied to letters straight away at the Post Office using aerogrammes. Some of those have now returned and filled some gaps in the correspondence.

The Bessie Head Papers have attracted researchers from different countries. Some have already been here to carry out research either for the purpose of writing books or articles

Figure 1 Bessie Head lived for much of her life in Serowe. On her death the Khama III Memorial Museum purchased the papers which included an extensive correspondence with people from many parts of the world.

or for post graduates studies. The following is a list of some of the visitors and their publications:
1986 Short visit By Dr Adeola James, University of Guyana
1987 Short visit by Gillian Stead Eilersen, lecturer at the Department of English at the University of Odense, Denmark
1987 Gillian Stead Eilersen: "Bessie Head: A dealer in Human Granduer'. PEO No 42, Nov, 18 pp
1988 7 weeks visit by Gillian Stead Eilersen
1989 Gillian Stead Eilersen: 'Serowe: Bessie Head's 'Bit of Ancient Africa." Lekgapho, Khama III Memorial Museum Review 1988 - 89. 6 pp.
1989 Visit by Sue Akinson, Nottingham, England for 4 days
1989 Gillian Stead Eilersen: 'The Bessie Head Papers. Some Preliminary Comments'. Botswana Notes and Records Vol 20, pp 95 - 99
1989 David Haggie from BBC London made a 30 minutes programme on Bessie Head which was broadcast in June 1990 on BBC's Art and Africa.
1989 'Tales of Tenderness and Power, Short Stories by B Head', edited by Gillian Stead Eilersen. Ad Donker
1990 Same, Heinemann in AWS
1990 10 days visit by Dr Adeola James, now University of Papua New Guinea
1991 'A Gesture of Belonging— Letters from Bessie Head, 1965-1979', edited by Randolph Vigne. SA Writers. A few letters from the B Head Papers were sent to the editor to

supplement his collection.
1991 Two weeks visit by Gillian Stead Eilersen and more books may be expected as a result of the above researchers' visits.

Many other researchers from USA, England, Botswana and South Africa have expressed interest in coming to Serowe to study papers. Further more a TV producer has asked permission to come and make a documentry on Bessie Head.

Interested citizens of Botswana with a proposed programme for their research may come and study the B Head Papers provided that they make an appointment in advance, as the present facilities can accommodate only one person at a time.

The same applies to foreigners, but, in addition, they will have to obtain permission from the Office of the President to do research in Botswana.

In 1987 the librarians of the Public Library in Serowe (Bessie was the Vice Chairperson of the Library Committee) suggested that an essay competition be arranged in which students from primary as well as secondary schools in Serowe participate. The Bessie Head Memorial Fund that had just been established would give prizes to the best three writers. It was decided to have the prize giving day every year on 6 July, Bessie Head's birthday. Since then a Bessie Head Competition as it is called, has been staged on that date by the Library and the B H Memorial Committee (now the Museum). This year's essays were written by the Form V students. It is hoped that, in future, it will also be possible to offer University students a chance to participate.

Bessie Head's great interest in and admiration for Khama III to whom she dedicated a chapter in her book: 'Serowe—Village of the Rain Wind', never faded. And now, her papers are kept in the same place as those of her hero, Khama III, whose papers are part of the Khama family Papers which were deposited at this museum by the late Leapeetswe Khama.

Tshekedi Khama's Work Against the Incorporation of South West Africa into the Union of South Africa, 1948-58

Rogoff Modise

Some people contend that the art of letter writing is a dying one given the proliferation of modern amenities such as the telephone. That art however has contributed immensely to the interpretation and the understanding of past events. All historians have appreciated the value that letters have in the interpretation of certain historical events. Some letters deposited at Khama III Memorial Museum in Serowe have helped to highlight Tshekedi Khama's concern over the incorporation of South West Africa to South Africa, and also his relentless campaign for the improvement of the lives of Africans. This article does not purport to have exhausted the correspondence of Tshekedi with people such as Reverend Michael Scott, the advocate Buchanan, Frederick Samuel Maherero, Hosea Kutako and Mary Benson to mention a few.

There is a wealth of information in this correspondence and to attempt an in-depth study of this is beyond the scope of this article. Fortunately, other scholars have already broken ground and have provided us with an invaluable body of information some of which is based on these letters. To attempt a similar study would be redundant.

This article then provides a window on the more personal concern that Tshekedi showed over the plight of the Herero people and their treatment by the hands of powers that used repressive policies to relegate the underprivileged to starvation, poverty and suffering. The time frame for this article will be from 1946 to 1958, although some documents date from before these times.

Displaced into the Bechuanaland Protectorate, first after the German occupation of their territory and then after the 1914 war, the people of South West Africa expressed their wish to be united under their rulers in the land of their ancestry. Tshekedi Khama, then regent of the Bagammangwato, set out to assist them. He began an internal campaign which was then taken up by others in other parts of the world. As early as 1947 Tshekedi sent a dispatch to Sir Evelyn Baring "enclosing a formal request, which speaks for itself, from Chief Samuel Frederick Maherero...". Maherero made representations questioning the basis on which they were to be allowed to "return to our native land."

If they were to return, Maherero wondered if there would be enough land for "approximately 15,000 people and their cattle which would possibly be over 10,000 big stock." Tshekedi's internal campaigns were taken up by the Reverent Michael Scott who on the 8th January, 1947 wrote to Tshekedi that "to interest important American groups, and (obtain) the support of the churches will be invaluable. Already, there are strong indications that the churches will give a sympathetic hearing to the South West African case." Scott also felt the need and the importance of the deputation of the African leaders being sent to the United Nations to present their case on behalf of the South West African peoples.

For this campaign to gain momentum, Tshekedi realised there needed to be a reconnaissance. Hence, his letter dated 31st May 1947 requesting that Scott "undertake a trip to South West Africa". His main reason for the request was that, "it would be easy for you to work there because your Church has a mission station in South West Africa". Both men were also aware that it was not just a question of resettling a group of people in a given area. Certain conditions had first to be satisfied and a priority was the provision of adequate land, not only for the Hereros and Mbanderus in Bechuanaland, but also for these peoples in South West Africa itself.

Of paramount importance and something that Tshekedi did not overlook, was the need for financial support to aid their fight against the Union's aim to incorporate South West Africa. On 2nd July 1947, Tshekedi sent a letter to Scott which enclosed "the sum of forty pounds (40) for your trip to South West Africa. This sum is entirely for yourself." He also encouraged those in Toromoja to contribute towards the expenses of the anti-incorporation campaign. In one of the letters written in October 11th 1948, Tshekedi explains, in Setswana, to Saratiel Nicodemus that the funds asked for are not a form of remuneration for Scott but that in executing his tasks he needed the basic necessities provided for.

The other form of campaign which Tshekedi sought to exploit was assistance from lawyers. He enlisted the help of the Cape Town advocate, Buchanan. Buchanan was a force behind the campaign for he had already written to Tshekedi on 2nd August, 1947 about 'Mr Bottomley' whom Buchanan said supported Smuts and was "quite sound on keeping the Bechuanaland Protectorate out of the Union but he sees no future for its economic development and he is prepared to let the Union have SWA and the Caprivi Strip without reserving any free port or corridor to the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Rhodesia".

The campaign had been set in motion, and correspondences came to characterise the seriousness of the matter by their frequency.

Tshekedi did not overlook the diplomatic side of the issue. In a communication to Buchanan of the 9th August,

he mentions that if the British Government's view was not influenced by "public opinion in England and the opinion of the UNO", then, "it is reasonable to conclude that Great Britain has a vital interest in the transfer of SWA to the Union and the reason would appear to be defence". Britain, it seemed, was not at all prepared to pay a detailed look into the plight of the people of South West Africa. However, Tshekedi was anxious "not to give the British Government any excuse that we are trying to act independent of them".

Samuel Maherero continued the campaign by working to make colonial government officials aware of the issues of South West Africa. He also kept up the internal campaign through personal correspondence to Chief Hosea Kutako in Namibia. Imbued with a mutual tone, Maherero, in a letter dated 15th August, 1947 made it clear that, "if we do return we do not want to return to lands which are unproductive and unhealthy and are separated from one another". Maherero's point is convergent with the anti-incorporation supporter's main argument. Tshekedi and his supporters were arguing that for unity to be achieved, all the injustices done to the people of South West Africa had to be redressed.

With the support of other leaders within the Protectorate itself a petition was sent on the 20th August to Pretoria addressed to the High Commissioner for the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The petition expresses disappointment at the matter not being presented before the United Nations Organisation despite earlier attempts to get Britain to do so. The main thrust of the objection to incorporation were the Union's repressive laws which would inevitably be employed in the incorporated South West Africa. The signatories were Martinus Seboni (Bakwena), Mokgosi S Mokgosi (Balete), Tshekedi Khama (Bangwato), Matlala Gaborone (Batlokwa), Pulane E Moremi (Batawana) and Bathoen II (Bangwaketse). They entered a special plea that South West Africa be placed under the United Nations Trusteeship Council.

Not all the supporters of the anti-incorporation campaign were as bold as to openly declare their stand. From a Conference at Okombahe, "secretary" sent minutes of the proceedings of that to Scott "so that he may please send them to the Secretary General of UNO." The minutes dispute the assertion that the Bergdamaras approached the Union and asked for incorporation. The "secretary" continues that, "for fear of victimisation, I have withheld my full address. As will be seen in another instance, the debate over the future of South West Africa brought with it a sense of insecurity, if not one of impending doom. Hence the display of anonymity preference."

As the campaign gained in its intensity, other efforts seemed to have been set in motion to frustrate further developments. A newspaper cutting sent to Tshekedi on the 1st November, by Buchanan, reports a delay which resulted in

Scott not being granted a visa. The cutting further informs that Scott wrote to President Truman to let him know of the visa delay which resulted in his being unable to attend the United Nations General Assembly's session. Despite such set-backs, more of which will be touched upon later, the move that South West Africa be placed under the United Nations Trusteeship Council continued to draw support from such quarters as the Indian Delegation and Dr Xuma of the African National Congress.

In South West Africa Scott amassed material and information which could be used to counteract the wishes of the Union Government. In all that he collected, one prominent motif surfaced. The peoples of South West Africa were not being done justice. There was a constant complaint of "lack of health amenities, no education, no social security and virtual imprisonment in the farms". One of these documents that he wrote sums up the plight of the people. The Union Government, said to them that "under the League of Nations we are not entitled to have strong beverages... But still the Union Government permits the Municipalities to make drinks, which if brewed by Africans are termed as illicit liquor."

Not only did the Union Government misinform people about their rights, it went on to show disregard and contempt for the local populace. Whilst Scott was busy in South West Africa, the strain and anxiety began to manifest itself as seen in a letter from Buchanan to Scott. On the 20th March 1948 Buchanan wrote, "I think it would be undesirable for you to get mixed up in a law suit in SWA. If they do not shoot you or arrest you I think you had better return to the Union..."

The Union Government, therefore, was seen not only as a threat but an adamant foe prepared to go to great lengths to achieve its ends. Their declared policy can be summed up in a document, which Tshekedi kept, that was presented to the United Nations General Assembly's Fourth Committee. The "unrestricted" document A/C 4/118 of the 13th October 1948 the Union delegation the "ex parte" statements passed the year before. The delegation continued to maintain that South West Africa asked to be incorporated into the Union. In consultation with the Herero leaders, the Union then offered to provide them with land. The Herero "a militant tribe, "the document continues, were scattered by the Germans and that was a condition in which they were found by the Union Government. Therefore then, incorporation should be seen as a beneficial to the local populace in South West Africa. So, all the anti-incorporation sentiments emanate "not in Ovamboland, but outside Ovamboland, and seen to be entirely based upon hearsay.

The document further adds that, "to concentrate exclusively on defects, to accentuate and enlarge them, ignoring all other facts, is the common technique of propagandists and fanatics." The above is the projection of the Unions' claim that, "the future of South West Africa is our

future..." The statement was uttered on the 15th of March 1946 and Tshekedi had kept a copy of that 1946 "Assembly Debates" document and as evidenced by heavy marking, he had studiously gone over the copy.

The work of Tshekedi, Scott, Buchanan and others resulted in another document which was addressed to King George VI. Dated "Holy Week" 1948, the document requests that a deputation representing the peoples of South West Africa be received in England. The fifty four page document also draws a comparison between the Germans' activities in South West Africa and the Union Government. As far as the document is concerned both are brutal and both disregard human rights.

King George VI was further informed that the submission was made "not in any spirit of malice or hatred towards South Africa... much less towards the white race". As Frederick Maherero put it, "I should not be brought under the Union Government because that Government adopts the same oppressive policy towards the Native people as the Germans. "This was also the time when an expression of uncertainty is seen in a letter to Scott from Tshekedi. He wrote, on the 29th May 1948, that Scott suspended his planned trip to South West Africa in view of the change of Government in South Africa. "We do not know what attitude the Nationalist Government is going to take and all our defence was based on the action taken by the South African Party."

Despite the uncertainty, Scott did write a letter to Dr Malan who was visiting South West Africa to ask for a personal interview. Dated 13th October 1948, Scott touches on the major issues already presented before. A prompt but curt reply—from D.D. Forsyth (Secretary to the Prime Minister and for External Affairs)—informs him that the Union Government "will be happy to listen to any representations which are truly representative delegation of the wishes of the Herero people. But, it is not to recognise the possession by you of status to represent the Herero or any other tribe in the Territory or that could justify being received if and when a delegation should represent itself."

Other means to frustrate Scott are evidenced by the letter he wrote to Tshekedi on the 7th of November 1948. He wrote that, "I have my passport cancelled". He further points out that, given the endorsement of his passport, chances were that he may not be allowed to "return to SA." Even overseas Scott still met with opposition and more attempts to make his work difficult. On the 14th of October 1949 a letter from Frida Levison informs Tshekedi that Scott, who then was in New York, "is very short of funds as the SA government will not allow him any dollars." Undetered, Scott managed to inspire a formation of bodies that supported the the fight against incorporation. One of these was based in England and known as the African Relations Council which by August 1950 was already addressing itself to the "question of the future of of

South West Africa." At this time, the-South-West-African-incorporation-into-Union debate had generated a much more wider interest than before. One example of the growth of interest is seen in a letter to Chief Hosea Kutako from Mary Benson. She wrote, on the 14th of January 1951, that, "there is this interest, that your story is known and has moved people in all parts of the world..."

The 1951 also shows an occupation, not only with South West Africa but with the development of the Okavango Delta and another fight against the possibilities of transferring the High Commission Territories from British to South African sovereignty. Of interest is the letter dated 1st August 1951 addressed to Dr Xuma by Scott where he informs him that, "a special committee consisting of five member States was appointed to negotiate a settlement with the Union of South African in accordance with the advisory of the international Court...", and that this Committee was "also authorised to receive petitions that may be forthcoming in relation to South West Africa and to examine them."

Despite this development, the Union Government persisted in their stand to delay and most obviously achieve their aim. Towards the end of 1951, indications were that the "Fourth Committee" was beginning to develop a much more positive attitude towards the South West African question. Addressed to Tshekedi on 21st November 1951 a letter from C Greenidge asks Tshekedi to enlist the help of Samuel Maherero and then, "get in touch with the leaders of the three tribes in South West Africa and help them to make their application to the Union Government for travel facilities..."

A deputation, it seems, was now ready to be received at the United Nations General Assembly and the future of South West Africa could be discussed in a better light. The fight against incorporation and the barriers it laid for the Union Government were not received favourably. A letter from Molepolole to Scott in London illustrates this point. On the 27th of February Tshekedi wrote that "There appears to be mixed feelings, in South Africa, on the question of the right of UNO to agree that the Hereroes should state their case at UNO... It is interesting to note however that there is practically unanimous condemnation of the attitude of the Union government in declaring you a prohibited immigrant... "I do not think it will affect you very much, you can still come into Bechuanaland and contact any people you may like to get in touch with from the Union."

Scott was discouraged by the turn of events. He still waged his campaign for support. In May 1952 he sent to Tshekedi, an "Information Circular" on the newly formed Africa Bureau. The Bureau came "into existence as a result of work done over the past two years by a number of people interested in African affairs. Scott was the honorary Director of the Bureau. These efforts did not, it seems, bring with them elation. Tshekedi wrote to Chief Hosea Kutako, on the 17th

June 1951 that, "on my own studies of the situation up to now, I see no light and I have really no message of comfort to give except to pray with you, with the faith that right will prevail in the end."

That, in no way is a reflection of defeat. By the late 1950s, a great number of people, organisations and societies were rallying behind the fight against the Union's bid to incorporate South West Africa. Even within the United Nations itself began to put pressure on the Union Government to adopt a different attitude towards the peoples of South West Africa. As already seen, in the few of the correspondences looked into, Tshekedi mounted an internal campaign against the loss of land of the people of South West Africa. His stand did not limit itself to the question of South West Africa only. He stood also against the taking over of the High Commission Territories by South Africa. His concern was taken over by supporters and globally worked to shape the historical development, not only of the region, but of the whole of Africa. These letters are an invaluable source for the understanding of events of the past.

The Role of Local Museums in Monument Work

Nick Walker

Botswana is a new country but her history is long and complex. Much of the story remains to be discovered and the Archaeology Division of the National Museum has to date concentrated on piecing together this forgotten history. However, the testimony of the past is a fragile resource and needs to be carefully managed.

Ancient monuments are protected by the Monuments and Relics Act, but prior to Independence the care of the material heritage was limited to the statute books. The first legislation reflected the archaeological knowledge of the time and restricted monuments to a range of obvious prehistoric momentos, in particular, rock paintings and zimbabwes. In the late 1930s and early 1940s there were a spate of proclamations which seemed to owe more to imitating the efforts of neighbouring territories than to a coordinated effort to preserve Botswana's heritage.

Little happened during the next couple of decades but in the late 1970s, the National Museum, which had been named responsible for the monuments, appointed its first archaeologist. With the input from externally based researchers, work has established that Botswana's past has been as rich and varied as anywhere else in southern Africa. The department also attempted to start the overwhelming task of looking after and interpreting these monuments.

However, in comparison with its neighbours, Botswana achieved little in the development and protection of its premier sites. Many areas have been only recently explored and we do not yet have a real picture of the range and nature of the resource. One of the problems is that it takes a long time to build up an organisation with adequate expertise, facilities and funds. Currently, over one thousand recorded monuments are cared for on a part-time basis by a single division with three graduates and little support in the form of transport, other facilities and equipment. Apart from the custodian at Tsodilo Hills, all staff are based in the capital. If one considers the immense size of Botswana and the lack of a well developed road network in a land of difficult terrain it should be clear that we are unlikely to monitor our material heritage in a satisfactory manner. Ultimately the monuments

section will grow and hopefully regional stations will be created, but for the present it is clear that we are overstretched.

So in taking cae of monuments the National Museum must rely on outside help and local museums are well placed to assist us. First, few people know about the Monuments Act and many sites are being destroyed by development or vandalised through ignorance. Regional museums can act in this area to promote the Act, through displaying pamphlets created by the National Museum on the subject, by writing articles for local papers and by organising meetings and talks with the community and the authorities.

Second, the museum staff can act as watch dogs to warn the National Museum about large development projects that should have an archaeological impact study carried out first, check up on reports of people damaging sites and keep an eye on known monuments.

Third, regional museums could extend their activities to initiate projects through the National Museum on monuments within their region. Modest projects such as cleaning a site, fencing, erecting notice boards and publicising an area are not necessarily expensive and it is possible to persuade local business men and even villagers to support a project, if not by donating money, then through donating labour. This will give a community a sense of involvement and show that the museum is not just a building but is concerned with the wider community. Such projects can be used by local schools in their education programme and even encourage tourists to visit the region. This could help generate local income and there is the possibility that projects could become self-sustaining.

Fourth, much of the heritage of Botswana remains unrecorded. There is no reason why local museums cannot begin projects on locating sites. The National Museum houses the National Archaeological Survey which records sites and we can certainly work together on this extensive recording task.

Finally, the material culture and customs of Botswana are changing at a rapid pace and local museums have a duty to help record and research buildings and traditions before they are lost. Even archaeological projects can be carried out but these are regulated by the Monuments Act and require the approval of the National Museum.

In return, the Archaeology Division can assist in the projects of regional museums with advice and practical assistance. For example, as custodians of our heritage, we can arrange for artefacts to be loaned to local museums for exhibitions. We can involve regional museums in our research and open up excavations for visits by school parties organised through the local museum.

In short, there is room for greater cooperation between museums in caring for the country's archaeological monuments and all three—monuments, the National Museum and regional museums can benefit.

Bongaka Jwa Setswana— Traditional Medical Practise

Phodiso Tube

The traditional type of medical practice, according to traditional doctors, has always been there since the beginning of mankind *(ke tlholego)*. The practise is even mentioned in the Bible.

Traditional doctors can be divided into three groups, *dingaka tsa dinaka* (bone throwers), *dingaka tse ditshochwa* (herbalists) and *baroka ba pula* (rain makers).

Dingaka tsa dinaka are sometimes also called *dingaka tsa ditaola*. They use *ditaola* (divining bones) to diagnose illnesses. Traditionally *ditaola* were made of animal bones only. Contemporary doctors include such things as snail shells (*letuma/kgopa*), mirrors, genet (*tshipa*) and sticks (*basimane ba bopedi/mankgwenyana*).

The basic and essential part of *ditaola* is cow bones. This is because a cow is the most important thing in a person's life, since meat, milk, leather, horns and bones, are all gained from the animal. The bones for *ditaola* are not taken from any cow. They are carved from *kgomo ya mogatelo* (a cow which is still young, but old enough to mate). After killing it, the front and the hind legs are taken. *Kgadi* and *kgatshane* (names for *ditaola*) are carved from the leg. *Moremogolo* and *jaro* (also names of *ditaola*) are carved from the hooves. *Moremogolo* pairs with *kgadi*. These are used for adults. Moremogolo represents men and *kgadi* represents women. *Jaro* pairs with *kgatshane*. They diagnose children and adolescents. *Jaro* represents boys and *kgatshane* represents girls.

These four bones can be used in the absence of the other supplementary bones. As a doctor acquires more knowledge, the number of his bones also increases. The supplementary bones are carved from animal knee caps (*ditheledi tsa diphologolo*). Traditional doctors use knee caps because that is what they are taught with. They add detail onto and confirm what cow bones divine. They also reveal the person's totem (*di tshwara motho ka sereto*). The type of animals from which supplementary bones are carved depends on how a particular doctor was trained. There seems to be a limited number of animals from which supplementary bones are carved. These are pig (*kolobe*), warthog(*kolobe ya naga*),

sheep (*nku*), goat (*podi*), hyena (*phiri*), duiker(*phuti*), steinbok (*phuduhudu*), antbear (*thakadu*), and baboon(*tshwene*). Klipspringer (*mokabaowane*), impala (*phala*), leopard(*nkwe*) and crocodile(*kwena*) seem to be contemporary additions in Kgatleng.

When doctors throw their bones (*ditaola*) they praise them (*ba a diboka*). These praises are an interpretation of what the bones have diagnosed. So, to tell a patient in the ordinary day to day language, a traditional doctor does not necessarily have to praise his divining bones. Interpreting *ditaola* is not divine, it is learned. Even the medication to be used is learned. *Ditaola* cannot be thrown or used at mid-day. This is because it is believed that they will not diagnose correctly. The explanation given is that the main part of *ditaola* is cow bones and at mid-day cattle lie down to rest.

Dingaka tse ditshochwa do not use divining bones but they are also specialists. Some specialise in illnesses such as *thobega* (healing broken bones) *tlhogwana* (when something is wrong with a baby's soft part of the skull which has not developed a bone yet), *boswagadi* (an illness which a person gets when their spouse dies). *Ngaka tse ditshochwa* were mostly women since women were not allowed to throw bones. They could only be herbalists. It is only now that women throw bones.

Baroka specialise in rain making. The rain making ceremony started in August. The central person in the whole process was the chief who initiated it. During the rain making period, the chief was not supposed to be with a woman. After being with a woman for the last time, he cleansed himself with *motlhatswapelo*. He called the community (*morafe*) to tell them that they would be praying for rain. Some ethnic groups in rainmaking use a black cow (*kgomo e ntsho*) and some, parts of other animals. A regiment would be sent out to hunt for them and the rain specialist (*moroka*) would then take whatever he needed from the animal, mix it with his rain medicines in clay pots (*dinkgwana tsa pula*) which were dedicated to this sole use. Nobody knew where they were kept except the chief and *moroka*. From there, water from these special rain pots was poured into ordinary clay pots. These were given to adolescents who hadn't been in contact with the opposite sex. They sprinkled the land with that water giving particular attention to where roads met. Girls sprinkled with branches from *mokgalo* tree and boys with branches from *mosetlha* tree. After sprinkling they would go home. By the time they reached home, they would be drenched with rain.

The chief played an important role in traditional medical practice. All doctors were answerable to him. He could command the services of any doctor at any given time but all doctors were community doctors (*dingaka tsa morafe*) as there was nothing like the chief's doctor; that is a doctor whose services are solely meant for the chief and his family (*ngaka ya kgosi*).

The chief kept a horn, (*lonaka lwa kgosi*), which was believed to protect him from evil. As the chief knew all the doctors in his community he chose the best doctor to prepare his horn. In addition, every doctor had his own horn (*lonaka*) with which he protected himself against all evil. To prepare a horn for the chief, all doctors had to take part of their horn, and mix them. In this way, no doctor could harm the chief because the essence of their doctorship was with the chief. The chief, doctors and ordinary people protected themselves against evil spirits. The reason why it is called the horn was because it was as tough as the horn itself and it was also stored in the horn.

The war horn, (*lonaka lwa ntwa*), was used by the chief in times of war. He used it on his warriors before setting off to war. It was believed that it helped them go through the battles unharmed. If they were defeated, it was believed that the doctor for the opposing group was stronger. This horn was kept by the chief. The doctor who prepared the chief's horn and the war horn was known only to the chief and nobody else. Some of the medicines included in the war horn were a lion's heart, snake pieces, people killed in battle and *tshitlho*.

There are some illnesses which traditional doctors are unable to cure. These include illnesses such as asthma, tuberculosis, heart diseases and sugar diabetes. Illnesses which traditional doctors can cure and western doctors do not include are *thibamo* which is said to have occurred when a baby has not come properly during delivery. This is when a baby comes facing down (*a ribame*) or comes with feet first. The cause of *thibamo* is the baby's position during delivery but it is not the child who suffers, it is the parents. If the baby is a boy, then it is the father who becomes ill. If the baby is a girl, then it is the mother who becomes ill. If the parent who is ill meets with his or her partner before being treated, then they both become ill. The symptom for *thibamo* is an intense cough (*kgotlholo e tona*) like tuberculosis although they are different.

A second type of *thibamo* is when a woman miscarries continually. In this case a woman has to be treated before being with her husband. She has to wait for at least three months to allow her body to be clean again. It is only then that she can be with her husband. She can even try for a baby again. The miscarried foetus was buried in the house in a bottomless clay pot. To treat a woman so that she may conceive again, *mokgalo* tree is used if the foetus was a boy. If it was a girl, *mosunyana* (small *mosu* tree) was used.

Tlhogwana is when the soft spot of a baby's skull is not moving properly or not moving at all. The symptoms are drooping eyes, diarrhoea, vomiting a yellowish green liquid, the stomach is sucked in due to dehydration and the head is thrown back like the baby is suffering from meningitis. In treating this illness, slough (the white skin that a snake sheds periodically *(moitlobo wa noga)* is mixed with other medicines

then burned. The baby is held in such a way that it inhales the smoke from the mixture. Across its head, a cross is made along which hair is removed. Ash from the mixture is then smeared along the cross.

Other illnesses include *thobega* (healing of broken bones), *mototwane* (fits), witchcraft and *boswagadi* (when one spouse dies, the remaining one becomes ill if not treated), headache, sexual diseases, fertility problems and gynaecological problems. Traditional doctors can heal them. According to them, western doctors just lull these illnesses, they do not heal them (*ba a ritibatsa*).

The continuing disappearance of traditional medical practice was and still is due to Christianity and civilization which influences people's expectations of traditional doctors.

The centralised nature of a Tswana society made it easy for the missionaries to convert people. The missionaries simply aligned themselves with the chiefs and through their influence converted the rest of the people. Another reason why the missionaries found it relatively easy to convert Batswana, was the Mfecane wars. If chiefs cooperated with them, they were given guns. Missionaries were also interpreters between the chiefs and the traders. So, for the chiefs to be able to get luxury goods such as beads, mirrors, alcohol and cloth, they had to cooperate with the missionaries. In the mean time, traditional institutions including medical practice were being phased out. They condemned traditional practices as heathen, including traditional medical practice and eventually traditional medical practice was looked down upon.

The new luxury goods and being a Christian were said to be civilized by the Europeans, while traditional practices and way of life were said to be uncivilized. People's attitude and values changed. To be civilized one had to abandon traditional attitudes and values. Traditional practices and institutions suffered and so did traditional medical practice.

As people's attitude changed, so did their expectations of traditional doctors. They forgot that traditional doctors were mortal and fallible beings. They forgot that they were not gods. People expected them to be able to cure every ailment, although western medical practice cannot cure every illness, but people do not lose faith in it. This may be because it is civilized.

The emergence of the money economy has resulted in a materialistic "get rich quick" attitude. For some people one way of doing this is through traditional medical practice. They pose as traditional doctors while they are not. People are now sceptical of traditional medical practice especially because no method has been developed to screen cheats.

One studied to become a traditional doctor usually with already practising traditional doctors. Some people learnt to become doctors because they have been chosen by their ancestors. The ancestors visited in the form of a dream and if

the chosen person refuses, he will be ill until he learns medical practice. Some people learn it out of interest, while with others because it is a family tradition.

Although traditional medical practice has lost its popularity some people use it as a last resort but it is not as common as it used to be.

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Botanical Garden from 1968 to 1991

Bruce Hargreaves

Since its inception in 1968, the National Museum has cared for the botanical area of its natural history displays through its living plant collections. The first museum buildings were surrounded with native and introduced plants and were tended by Makgotso Ntswetse. Under his care they thrived and the garden he established before his death in 1987 still graces the museum buildings in central Gaborone.

At the museum site in Gaborone village a large Botanic Garden is taking shape. This Botanic Garden aims to show as many of the regions plants as will grow in the area but this requires special environments created for the plants from areas of Botswana which find the climate in Gaborone difficult. A wide trench will provide shelter from drying and

Figure 1 A garden was established adjacent to the museum buildings in the 1960s.

Figure 2 Visitors to the garden can now enjoy some impressive specimen plants.

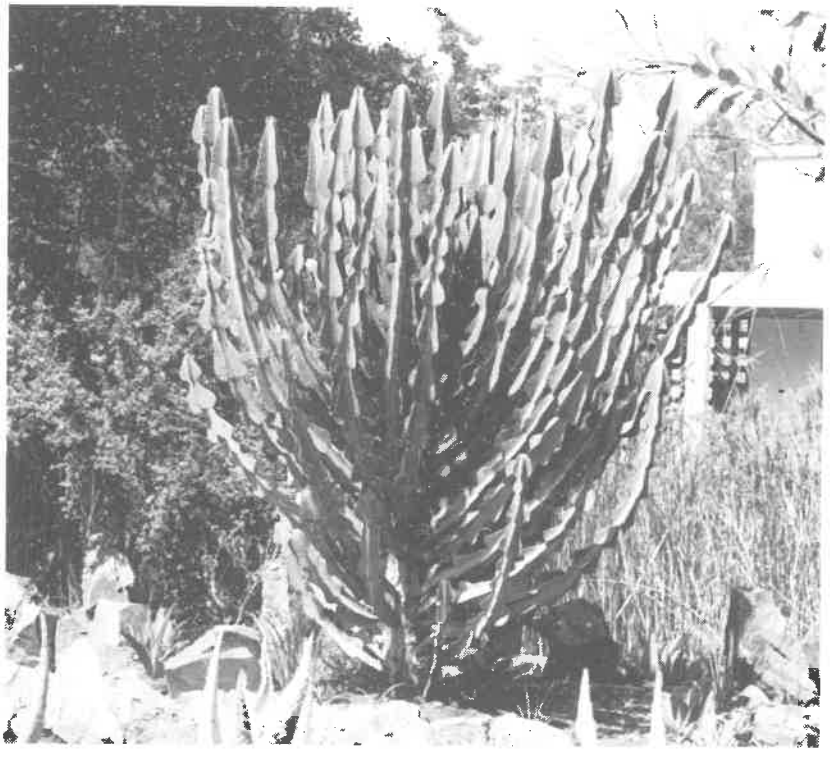


Figure 3 Since it was established the garden has thrived to create an oasis of green and quiet in the centre of Gaborone.

Figure 4 In 1990 work started on the Botanic Garden at Gaborone village. This wide trench will provide a protected environment for plants brought to Gaborone from other parts of the country.

Figure 5 Fencing reduces the threat of goats and cows damaging the garden's special plants and separates the garden from nearby residential plots.

cooling winds and piped water in this area simulates the wetter habitats in northern Botswana.

No artificial environment can hold all the plants of an area so a network of local botanical reserves is also planned. We hope regional museums will be able to assist in establishing and maintaining these reserves in areas as yet unaffected by extensive grazing or development. Another reason for setting up regional gardens is the widespread population of Botswana who are rarely able to travel to Gaborone to enjoy the main Botanic Garden. In addition, not all plants adjust to the limited conditions which can be created in Gaborone but are still needed in botanical collections. Of course there is already an extensive system of reserves and national parks but certain parts of the country, particularly the north east, are not protected and contain some unique habitats which need protection.

Figure 6 The wall will provide support for a glasshouse on one side and a special environment for rock plants on the other.

Mkumbo
Traditional Kalanga Marriage

Phodiso Tube

Traditionally, parents chose spouses for their children. This was done in two ways, either the baby girl would be given a husband at birth and it was then the prospective husbands responsibility to raise the baby until she was ready for marriage, or, when a man was ready to marry, his parents would look for a wife for him. The couple had little say in the matter, and even if they did not like each other, they would be forced to marry regardless of their feelings. If it was the woman who refused to marry, a horn would be fastened to each side of her head at her temples. These horns would be continually struck and would slowly bite into her temples so that she would eventually give up and agree to marry. These horns were called *zwiombe nyanga-dinaka tse di gamolang* (horns which teach a lesson). In this case the lesson was that parents should not be disobeyed.

In seeking for a wife, the man's parents went to the woman's parents. Parents in this case meaning uncles and aunts since the biological parents did not speak directly to each other but rather worked through a delegation of uncles and aunts. If the woman's parents agreed to their daughter's marriage they would give the boy's parents two unsoftened cow hides, which they used for making clothes.

After agreeing to the marriage, the woman's parents asked for *lobola* which included:

thukila-kgomo ya tlhagela — this was a cow which the man's family had to give to the woman's parents simply because they wanted a wife from the particular family,

petshabokwe — this was a goat from the man's family. It was killed and cooked at the girl's place. The *ndwana* (spokesperson of the delegation) from the man's family would then inform the woman's family's *ndwana* when the meat was ready and would dish out the meat and take it to the woman's delegation.

thatenini-rangwane — the paternal uncle's goat,
basekulu-nkuku — the grandmother's goat
debgwe —an animal skin mat,
jase—an overcoat,
tukwi—duk
nsholo, mbudzi ye sholo - podi ya tlhogo —the goat for

the head of the delegation. This goat was used for the eldest maternal uncle (*malome*) who was the head of the marriage delegation.

When taking *lobola* to the woman's parents, the delegation did not enter the compound unless they were given a stipulated amount of money. If there was no money, then they would be given a goat. They would be offered an animal skin mat to sit on, and before sitting on it had to be given money again. They would not eat food before they had been given money either. They would then be given an ox which they inspected and if they liked it it would be killed. This ox was called *pitsha-bokwe*.

When the man's delegation was ready to leave, a goat was killed for them. It was known as *phaladzabakagwa* which means disbanding the in-law's delegation.

The next stage of the marriage process was called *bomba*. The woman visits the man's home for a few days. Then the man visits the woman's home for a few days. On his arrival he would be met by *bakadzana* (young women) who would tell the *ndwana* of his arrival. He would be greeted by the family.

After this he could come any day to fetch his wife. He would come at night without being noticed by anyone and would leave some money under his wife's pillow as a sign for his in-laws to know their daughter's whereabouts the following morning.

From the time the woman left her home there were set times when she had to be given money. They were as follows: on their way home every river that they cross and every cross roads which they passed through required money, also before entering her husband's compound, before entering her husband's house, before accepting greetings from adults whom she found in the house, before accepting her first meal and before she could sleep. If the husband did not have any money then he gave her stones. Each stone represented money at an amount agreed upon before the journey started, when her husband gave her money, then the stones could be thrown away.

On the couple's first night together, they would be given an unsoftened animal skin to sleep on. The husband's aunt would wait outside the door and listen to hear whether the marriage was consummated. If on her first day as a new wife (*ngwetsi*) she was menstruating, she would return to her parents and on arrival go collecting wood. This wood was taken back to her husband's place as a symbol of the reason why she ran away. This is referred to as *tidzhabană*.

After her first night at her husband's home, she would not wake up until a heifer (*mamenyelo*) had been presented to her.

During her first month of marriage she was expected to get water for everybody in the compound morning and evening. She would be given meal to pound for food and must

not give herself grain. When she was pounding, she had to work non-stop until she had finished. She collected wood every day for a month but nobody was allowed to use it. On her last day, she would stand where the other wood was with the last bundle on her head and would not put it down until she was given money. It was only then that the wood could start to be used. As her last duty was a new wife, she has to renew all the huts in the compound with a smearing of mud. In this task she is helped by the other young women from her side of the family.

With the heifer and the money that she collects during the first month of her marriage she starts to build her new family.

Looking Back Over 15 Years at Phuthadikobo Museum

Sandy Grant

When we started the Phuthadikobo Museum in 1976 it would have been heartening to know that in fifteen years time there would be another museum in Serowe and two more in process of establishment in Francistown and Molepolole. The existence of these museums, their leadership and interest groups has done much to improve the overall financial prospects of the district museums.

Establishing a new district museum without organisational or institutional support is extraordinarily difficult. Funding for permanent staff is at the core of the issue and although donor agencies now appear to be willing to support district museums at least during their formative years, any new museum will require dedicated volunteers who will work for as long as needed to establish the museum. After all, the culture and history of a country is its own responsibility and shifting this responsibility on to foreign agencies does little to foster national self-esteem.

In the next ten years or so we may see decisive changes in official thinking which places a greater priority on the role of the district museums in encouraging domestic tourism. Certainly, more emphasis needs to be placed on the encouragement of domestic and regional tourism. Currently, tourism is regarded as a one dimensional industry in that the desirable tourist is the wealthy visitor from America and Europe and his sole interest is the Okavango, Chobe and the wilderness of the Kgalagadi. This country's magnificent traditional towns and villages are nowhere featured on the tourist map. The tourist want animals, not people and official publicity continues to project this assumed need as if there was nothing else of interest in the country.

Museums must be about people and a museum environment must be welcoming and friendly. Knowledge and understanding can be most effectively transferred by a museum staff member who is hospitable and capable of adjusting quickly to the visitor's particular interests and the time frame of their visit. Dealing with visitors is a skill which demands more than the welcoming smile of a hotel receptionist.

Over the years, the Phuthadikobo Museum has been

visited by people from an astonishing range of countries. Many arrive with minimal knowledge of the peoples' lives today let alone of their particular history and gain more from a general conservation about the life in a place like Mochudi than from hearing about every facet of each displayed item. Visitors should leave with a feeling for the place. This can only be done if they are willing to adjust to the slower pace of a non-urban situation and allow its magic to wash over them.

District museum staff must therefore be adaptable and capable of assessing what approach to adopt. An adult does not need a repetition of the lesson just given to a primary school class. He may have come with a particular objective in mind but most people just wander in, not knowing what to expect or what is to be seen. They can be enormously helped simply by taking the initiative and asking where they have come from, where is their home, where they work, how long they have been in the country and so on. In a short time, it is possible to know how best to project the museum and to pin-point items which are likely to be of most interest to a visitor. It is essential for a staff member to know enough about the region to be able to talk on just about every aspect of its life, from its water supply to the changing role of a headman.

If museums are genuinely education centres there needs to be a two way process of giving and receiving information. Tell a visitor about the role of chiefs today or about burial procedures and be told about the Alaskan pipeline or the polder system in Holland. That's the way it should be and the way by which we can all most benefit. District museums in Botswana are small and have the opportunity to partake in such personal exchange.

In a developing country museums must be development projects and specifically educational. The cause of history or culture unrelated to development is unsupportable. Museums, as far as circumstances permit, should function as multi-faceted education centres ideally incorporating a library, a community centre, facilities for education and adult literacy, a craft production unit and even sporting activities. They should also function as information centres marrying the contemporary with the historical.

Failure to contribute to the general development of its region will expose the museums to criticism and limit their abiltiy to claim government support which is so essential for the long term functioning of these institutions. District museums have so much to offer a community if only they will get away from narrow professionalism.

Whilst conceding that there is a case for rationalising the funding of the local projects, the Phuthadikobo Museum Board and the District Council are at one in regretting an arbitrary decision which may weaken the linkage between the two. Regular subventions from Council to museum have meant that the former has had an in-built interest in the well-being of the project and, for this reason, has been happy that

its Secretary and members should serve on its Board. With the Council's financial involvement in the project removed, it is possible that it will come to regard the museum as peripheral to its main interests and responsibilities. This would be a tragedy. Local development projects need linkage with their elected Councils. Councils, in turn, gain from such linkage by implicitly widening their development brief.

In the early 1980s, we were informed by the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs that it would provide the museum with assistance so long as it was being supported by the Kgatleng District Council and Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Now the role of these two Ministries has been reversed and it is the Ministry of Local Government and Lands, apparently without consultation, which has decided that the two Ministries should not be supporting the same project.

The process of centralisation seems inexorable. Also now, the Phuthadikobo Museum is directly answerable for its financial management solely to the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs. But it was the Kgatleng District Council, not the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs, which enabled the museum project to get off the ground. It was the District Council too which donated the present museum buildings in a remarkable gesture of faith and in an effort to push the cause of local development. Ties forged in this grand manner should not be broken so easily.

There is rare satisfaction to be gained from the step by step establishment of a new project. The process, in the case of Phuthadikobo Museum was extremely difficult since the old school building was not only very large and in poor physical shape but it also had no access road. Without a road there was a little chance of ever being able to conserve the building. Donor agencies, at the time, were largely unresponsive to our calls for help but little by little and with a maximum of local support we whittled away at the problems and eventually the building was saved and the museum opened.

Each phase of this process of development was its own high point and each had unforgettable moments; Francis Phiri, for instance, cutting the ribbon across the new road; Amos Kgamanyane coming down the road at night and seeing, for the first time in sixty years, his old school spectacularly lit up by its new electricity. And then there was Alberto Travaglini making an impassioned speech about the quality of this great building to an audience which barely understood a word that he was saving, a drawback that seemed to worry neither him nor his audience.

Then, the two amazing nights of the festival of traditional music. To arrange these were extremely difficult. First, we needed to find the traditional musicians, then to fetch them from lands or cattle posts or from outside the villages and then the need to make sure that they didn't simply disappear again. Sadly, it is no longer possible to

mount such a programme. In the Kgatleng the art of playing the *serankure* and *nkokwane* is now lost. The old players such as Tshwene Tshwene have gone for good.

There was that magnificent evening at the museum when Macmillan launched Thomas Tlou and Alec Cambell's History of Botswana. There was the absolute magic of Andrew Stracey's group playing brilliantly to a small audience. The sound of steel drums rippling over Phuthadikobo Hill and environs is something I treasure.

And lesser moments or incidents that stick in the mind? There was the black mamba that found the silk screen workshop and the resultant panic. There was Geoffrey Pheko, returning from a collecting trip in the late 1970s recounting how he found two old ladies who had readily agreed that they possessed the old war axes but flatly refused to part with them to the museum. "If we give them to you, how will we defend ourselves against Ian Smith, if he were to come to Mochudi?

Perhaps the the best memories of all are of those marvellous occasions with older Bakgatla shortsightedly viewed historical photographs or handled, for them, familiar artifacts. Here was that moment, the purpose of the entire effort, when understanding hit them like a flash, when they recognised a long dead relative or friend in photograph of a historical event, when they rediscovered a tool, a piece of equipment or a domestic utensil. First, the hesitant shuffling around, the reluctance to intrude into an unfamiliar setting, the peering and poking and subdued mutter of conversation, and then, suddenly, that burst of sheer pleasure, the talk and more talk that accompanies the discovery that this museum is both for them and about them. Wonderful.

And then there were the two murder trials. The Phuthadikobo Museum is an unusual project in many respects but it must be rare for any museum in the world to provide facilities for such a purpose. Was this wrong or somehow inappropriate? I think not. The museum's small hall is an eminently dignified room well suited for such a purpose. Murder trials have to be held somewhere. It just happened that the museum was to be the most appropriate place available. Justice and museums. An unlikely and unusual combination but fitting, nevertheless.

Bojale 1990

Pat Kollars

In 1975 Kgosi Linchwe II reintroduced the traditional initiation rites of *bogwera* and *bojale*. At the time the decision sparked widespread debate but with the passage of time, the event has become accepted and its popularity continues to increase.

Bogwera and *bojale* as originally practised were discontinued in 1902 due to the influence of Christian missionaries. Current practise of these rites of passage bears little resemblance to their original form. The hope in 1975 was to restore and preserve a part of the cultural heritage of the Bakgatla which was disappearing due to the changes occuring in society. More information about the original *bogwera* can be obtained from the booklet on this subject written by Isaac

Figure 1 Circled by seated older women, the initiates are addressed by the *Kgosi* in the *kgotla* after their period of instruction. After this final ceremony they are considered part of the adult community.

Figure 2 For the final ceremony the initiates are escorted to the *kgotla* by the older women of the community who carry branches to chase away curious spectators.

Figure 3 The *bojale* drum is one of the remaining artefacts which the Bakgatla brought with them from the south when then came to Mochudi.

Schapera and published by the Phuthadikobo Museum.

The popularity of *bogwera* and *bojale* can be seen by the increasing number of participants. Nineteen seventy-five saw about 200 men participating and the presentation of the initiates at the Chief's *kgotla* attracted few spectators. The 1988 *bogwera* and the 1990 *bojale* participants numbered 970 and 1250 respectively. The *kgotla* was overflowing with spectators on both occasions with many visitors travelling to Mochudi from other towns and villages.

The organisation of *bojale* is based upon the wards of the village of Mochudi. The initiates of a given ward gather at the ward *kgotla* and are then escorted to the Chief's *kgotla* under the close watch of their older supervisors. The initiates proceed to the *kgotla* striped to the waist and any male who attempts to observe or wanders too close is chased off by the women wielding whip-like branches. The initiates and leaders from each ward gather outside the main *kgotla* and then enter in a procession singing songs. The *kgotla* is sealed off from the curious.

Figure 4 As their escort create a diversion of shouting, whirling movement and waving branches the initiates come quietly into the *kgotla* for the final ceremony.

Once inside the *kgotla*, the participants spend several hours each evening singing, dancing and receiving instruction from the leaders. Many topics are discussed ranging from traditional values, music, history, to current concerns such as health and family planning. At the end of the evening, the initiates again divide into wards and are escorted home.

The length of time for instruction lasts from two to

four weeks and is usually held in the winter months. There is not set time when a *bogwera* or *bojale* is called and any number of years may pass before the chief may decide to hold the event.

One of the main symbols of *bojale* is the *bojale* drum. The drum is one of the items which remains of the objects which the Bakgatla brought with them from South Africa in 1869. The drum is on display at the Phuthadikobo Museum and given to the leader of the group for use during the instruction period. The drum is used to accompany the singing and dancing each evening during the instruction period.

The 1990 *bojale* was held in August and lasted two and a half weeks. At the end of this time the Chief called a *kgotla* to present the group to the tribe. As the people waited in the *kgotla* on a Saturday morning, the older women charged into the arena and spread out striking each other with their branches. While the laughing crowd watched the numerous diversions, the initiates quietly entered and took their places at the *kgotla.* When things had settled, Kgosi Linchwe II and several elders advised the group. The new women's regiment was then named and the leader or *matuku* was introduced. The ceremony confirmed the former initiates as adults in Bakgatla society.

Hopefully, both *bojale* and *bogwera* will continue in the future. They remain important attempts at preserving the rich and diverse culture of the Bakgatla, of which much has disappeared.

Acknowledgements

Gratitude is due to Kgosi Linchwe II and Mohumagadi Kgafela who assisted with information about *bojale* and to Nancy Yuill who photographed the event.

Choirs of Mochudi—
Dikhwaere tsa Mochudi

Ntikwe Poonyane Motlotle

One of the major social activities which occurs at the lands every year is choir practice and competitions. Boredom in the long evenings encourages people of different age groups to gather and form choirs. The members of each choir usually live in the same ward in Mochudi, or have fields near other members. It is not uncommon for choirs to name themselves after the area they farm or to adopt the initials of that area in their name. For example, the choir from the Seshoboloko area is abbreviated SK, from Thagale-Malotwana the abbreviation is TM and so on.

Choirs are structured like other formal bodies in society. They have a committee with a chairman as well as a choir teacher or mistress. Office bearers may carry out disciplinary action against members for poor attendance or misbehaviour. These committees are also responsible for funds raised by the group.

Choirs are hired by groups and individuals for weddings, funerals and also just entertainment purposes. The money raised is held to assist members in emergencies such as funerals, to provide loans to members and to purchase uniforms for choir competitions. The main competitions occur at Christmas and New Year.

A competition is arranged when one choir writes to another group and requests *phadisanyo*, literally 'a merging of wits vocally'. The challenge is accepted and the competition date is set. The *phadisanyo* is arranged for all the choirs from the different lands areas. Judges may be male or female and have to stay for the whole performace.

The judges listen for a balance of the voices, the dancing and how the crowd reacts to each performance. The contest continues throughout the night with each choir hoping to hear *"Le ba phadile"*, you have won. The only prize usually given is the happiness of being chosen the best. The competition is usually repeated at New Year.

Songs may be sung in English, Setswana, Kalanga or any other language of the composer's choice. Choirs sing songs about the history of themselves, their leader, and current affairs. Other topics include Hailey's Comet, Mandela's release and the Independence of Botswana. A

current song is called '*Omang*'. When asked why they chose this song they replied, "*Omang oa lapisa*—It is a tiring thing because one has to travel from town to the lands to collect your parents to register".

Diphadisanyo attracts people from other villages and districts. The choirs are recorded on cassettes as well as videos and are featured on Tuesdays on a Radio Botswana programme and as theme music for other radio programmes.

It is said that music is one of the cures of loneliness and boredom. The music of the choirs can be enjoyed on the radio but to hear some of the best live traditional music make plans to visit the lands near Mochudi this Christmas.

Supa-Ngwao—A Museum Without A Home

Catrien van Waarden

"Does Francistown have a museum?"

"Oh, yes, we do. It's called 'Supa-Ngwao'"

"Where is it?"

Silence. "Nowhere." Thinking for a moment. "But everywhere really."

"What?"

"Well, you see, there was the children's art exhibition in the library with the schools drama competition in the library gardens. The puppets had a parade right through the centre of town and then gave a show in the park. The Craft Fair in the Civic Centre was attended by the President at the opening of this beautiful building. There was a nostalgia evening at the Grand Hotel and the Railiway History Exhibition in a coach at the station. Not to forget the nature films at Lesiding Community Cnetre, where we managed to squeeze about 500 kids in, and the video series on the history of Africa at John Mackenzie School Hall. The wire toy exhibition toured the primary schools and we had a great race at the end. The *morabaraba* competition at the Northern Botswana Show was also very exciting. Then there were outings to the rock paintings at Irene Farm, a bird walk at Shashe Dam and a visit to the mine at Selibe-Phikwe, where we went underground and also had a ride on a steam train. Those are just some of the events that I can remember."

"Sounds great. How can I find out about programmes that are coming up?" Is there an office?"

"No, there is no office yet, but you can read about the Society's activities in the Northern Advertiser and events are also announced by posters around town. But even better—you can become a member of the Museum Society and then you receive the newsletter and invitations to opening nights where you have first choice at art and craft sales. You can also come on the outings then. And if you really want to get involved, you can help with the exhibitions, competitions and research."

"Research? That sounds serious! What kind of research?"

"For example, our Museum Society held a conference on the Bakalanga together with the Kalanga Bible Translation

Project and the Botswana Society, where specialists talked about prehistory and history and present settlement problems of the Bakalanga, and there was much discussion on the Kalanga language and how to write it (orthography it's called). And then as grande finale there was a heated debate on the future of the Kalanga culture. What I liked particularly was when the old chiefs joined in the discussion and told stories about the olden days."

"Ee, my old nkoko, may she rest in peace, used to tell us some tales too and she always ended with a big sigh about how things have changed. And in her opinion it was for the worst. Nowadays, I might agree with her on some points. I wish I had listened better."

"Well, you know, the museum has written down quite a lot of what the elders remember about the history of the Bakalanga and Bahurutshe. You could help record more of this oral history."

"You know, my old nkoko was pretty clever when you come to think of it. She used to make these big clay pots for brewing beer. That was before there was a chibuku factory. She used to make some extra pots and sell them to the neighbours, as well as some smaller pots with beautiful decorations with red colours and some shiny grey stuff—I think she called it *sibilo*—she used to trade it from some Basarwa, I remember. I haven't seen such pots in a long time."

"The museum has some of these pots in its collection. I also saw they had a wooden bowl just like the old man at our cattle post used to eat from. He said his *sadza* did not taste right from an enamel dish."

"Silly *madala*. But then, a lot of things we use today will no longer be in use in fifty years from now."

"That is what a museum is for mainly; to keep old things so that our children and grandchildren can get some idea about the traditional way of life of our people."

"What a good idea! I suppose one needs quite a large storage space for the museum collection. Where do they keep it all?"

"It is a big problem. Right now the collection is so spread around in various people's spare rooms and yards and some things are going to be stored in a large freight container. You know, one old machine had already been moved by mistake from its temporary storage and put in the dump. They had to retrieve it with a big crane. It's a fuel tanker from World War II that was used to fuel the Wenela mineplanes."

"Really, I'd like to see that."

"You will. Eventually it will do on display when we have proper museum premises."

"When will that be, and where? What's the plan?"

"They say it's going to be in Government Camp in the historic buildings. Those are going to become vacant, hopefully some time soon, because the need for a museum building is becoming desperate. They've also applied for an

empty plot of land where they plan to build a traditional village with houses from all over Botswana. The problem is that someone else wants to build townhouses there."

"Well, I know we need more housing, but surely they can build town houses somewhere else. I'd rather see such a Botswana village. Can't we do something about it? Send in a petition or have a protest march with banners: Museum needs a home..."

"Sounds like you should join the Museum Society. They can use people with energy and ideas like you."

The Supa Ngwao Museum Centre is a public trust. Its mandate is to develop a regional museum for the north east. 'North east' is loosely defined so as to include Bokalaka and Tonota, for example, which have close cultural links with the North East District. More specifically, the objectives of the Trust include to establish a Museum Centre in Francistown for the promotion of cultural activities and for the public education about the cultures, history and environment of Botswana and more specifically of the North East region, and to acquire and conserve relevant collections of objects and specimens on behalf of the people of Botswana.

The Supa Ngwao Museum Society, initiated in September 1986 as a steering committee, is closely affiliated with the Trust. Its aims are: to encourage community involvement in the Supa-Ngwao Museum Centre, to ensure community representation on the Board of Trustees, and to assist the staff of the Supa-Ngwao Museum Centre with projects and programmes.

Apart from a part-time Honorary Curator, no staff is yet appointed by the board because no proper venue is yet available. Therefore, the Museum Society has taken on total responsibility for the cultural programmes of the museum, some of which have been listed above. These have all been organized by the Executive Committee and other volunteers from among its membership, which currently stands at over fifty.

The Board of Trustees intends to develop the Museum Centre premises in a historic quarter of the Government Camp area. These comprise the old courthouse and the original police station, gaol, and gaoler's house. A new ring road around the centre of Francistown is planned to go right through the police station and the gaol. The Museum's steering committee proposed an alternative route around the historic buildings and this has been accepted. All these buildings are due to become vacant in the near future and it is hoped that the museum will soon also have a physical presence in addition to its cultural activities.

There are also great plans; there is enthusiasm and energy; there is money; all that is needed is space. Space has been at a premium in Francistown, which has made it impossible to find temporary quarters for the museum. Hence, no serious collecting programme could be started; this is

urgently needed since the elders are passing away and with them, the knowledge of traditional life styles and examples of the objects that were used.

The Northeast has a special and very interesting history and has been the home of the Bakalanga for nearly one hundred years. Many other groups have moved here in the more recent past, each with their own cultural ways. They have raised their families here, grown their crops, herded their cattle and mined for gold and copper, done business and grumbled over the payment of taxes; they built imposing stone structures, where they met over a pot of beer to discuss politics and pray for rain; sometimes they fought and sometimes they joined in celebration. It was like that one thousand yeas ago and it is still so today. Much has remained the same, yet much has changed. This is what the museum intends to document.

the gold by panning in water. It tends to be concentrated in particular veins of quartz in the schist, where it may be found as nuggets, but more generally as fine dust. The quartz veins held 30-120 grams of gold per ton of ore, while the rest of the oxidized zone has 5-20 grams per ton (Molyneux in Key 1976:102). Below the oxidised zone the gold in the sulphides has to be released by chemical treatment.

Some copper is present in the Tati Schist Relic at Phoenix-Selkirk but it is particularly abundant in the schist and amphibolite belt at Matsitama and associated with narrow limestone deposits in the shear zone in the granitic area at Bushman Mines, while in the amphibolite at Selibe-Phikwe copper and nickel occur together (Figure 1). Like gold, copper ore is easily mined by simple methods from the oxidised zone, where it often occurs as green malachite, but not so below it.

It was the oxidized zone, therefore, which was mined in prehistoric times; in the case of gold in particular quartz veins in the upper zone. Lack of pumps to lower the water table precluded the mining of deeper rock anyway. And, to the dismay of the later European miners, the early miners did a thorough job.

About 200 'ancient workings' for gold are known in the Tati and Vumba Schist Relics (Figures 2 and 3). These range from small pits to stopes of up to 28 metres as found at the Blue Jacket Mine. Figure 4 gives an impression of how they proceeded.

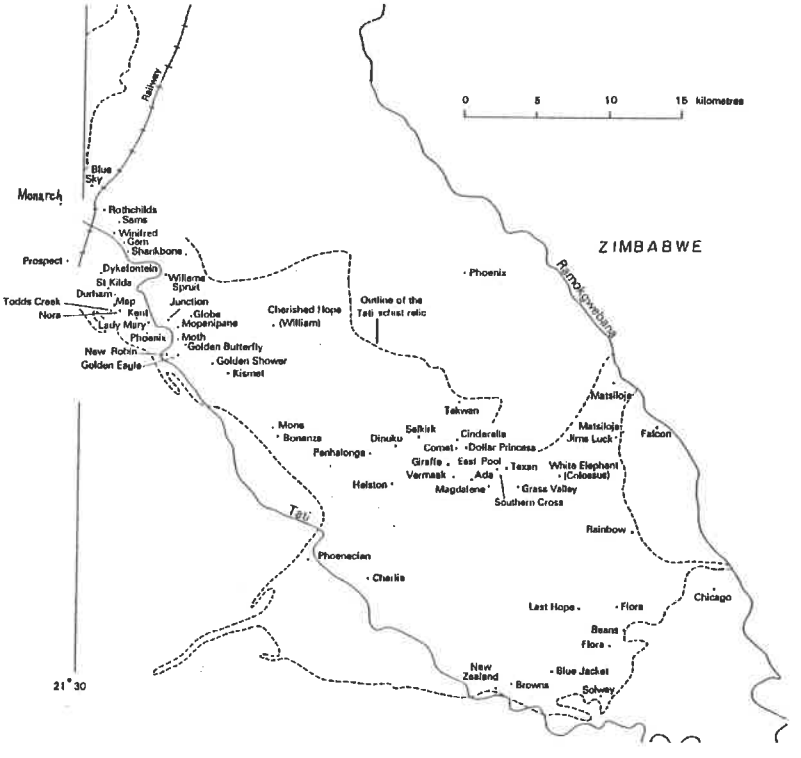


Figure 2 Gold mines in the Tati Schist Relic (Key 1976: 101)

Mining in Northeast Botswana

Catrien van Waarden

In considering the mining of an area it is necessary to start with a few words about its geology. Much of the bedrock of the northeast was formed through volcanic activity about 3000 million years ago. Plenty of time has passed therefore for mineralisation to take place and form gold, copper, nickel and kyanite, for example.

Gold is found in the Tati Schist Relic from Francistown southeastward and in the Vumba Schist Relic between the villages of Sechele and Kalakamati (Figure 1).

The gold is found in the schist in sulphides. In the upper, weathered or oxidised zone above the water table the sulphides have been broken down and the gold occurs free and can be retrieved by crushing the rock and then separating

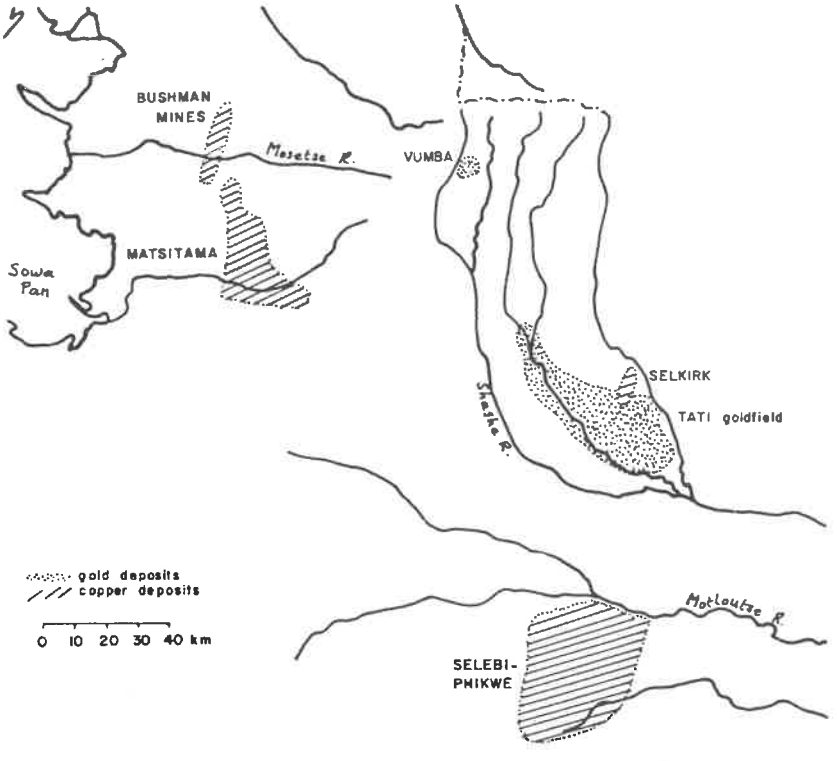
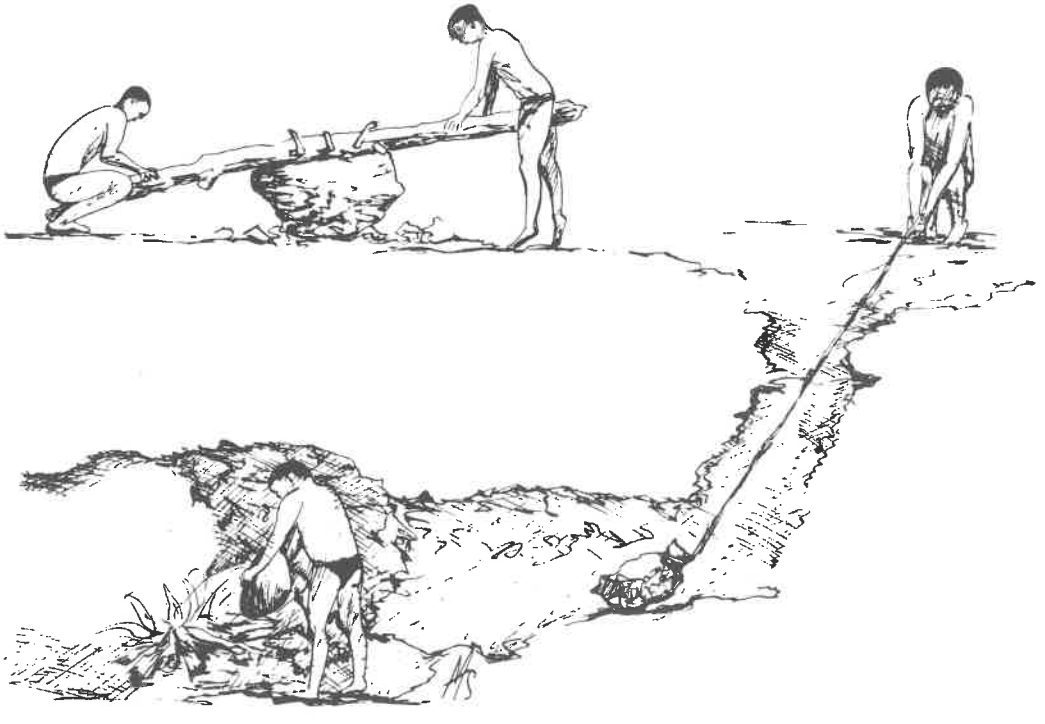


Figure 1 Gold and copper deposits in northeastern Botswana

Figure 3 Gold mines in the Vumba Schist Relic (after Sutherland 1975: 122).

Figure 4 Diagram showing prehistoric mine working.



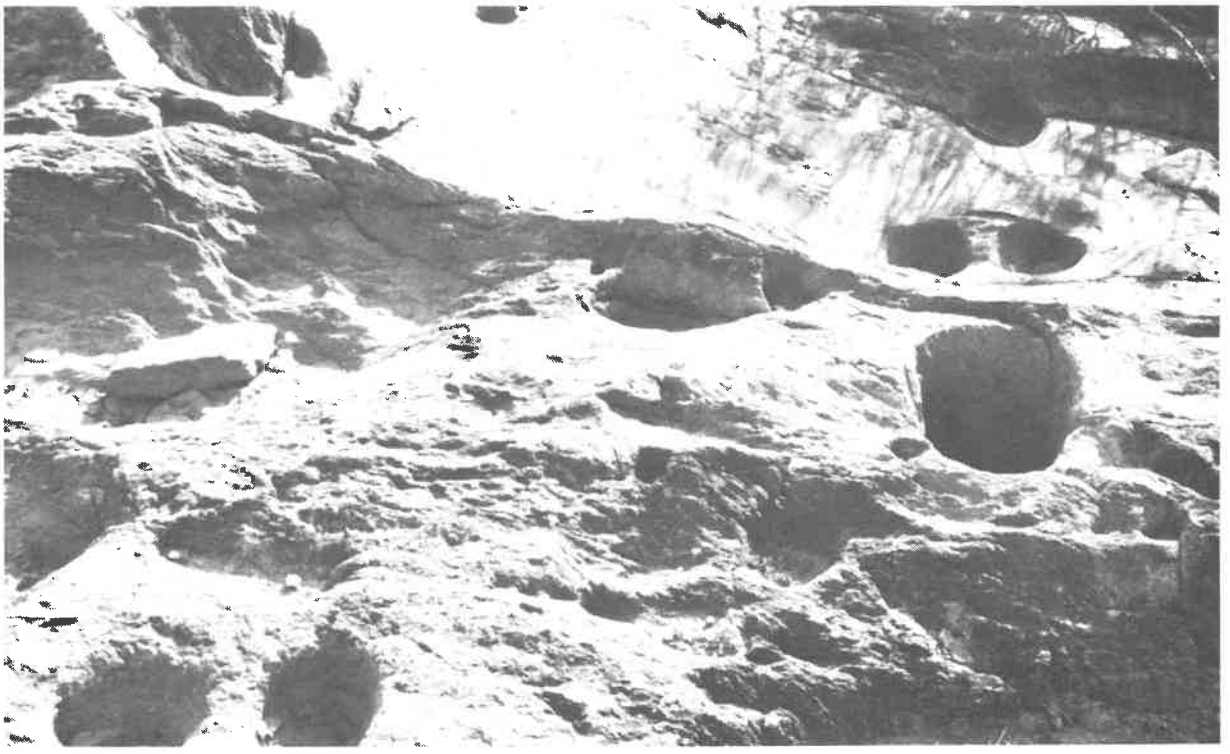


Figure 5 Dolly holes and ground surface at Vermaak's Mine.

Generally, the miners followed surface outcrops of quartz down by breaking the rock up through first heating it with fire and then suddenly cooling it with water. Iron wedges and hammerstones were also used. The ore may then have been crushed with a big boulder or even roasted in a fire to make it brittle (Baines 1946). It was then pounded to dust in hollows in the rock, after which it was panned in water. Such dolly holes were found in slabs of rock next to a stream at the Vermaak's Mine (Figure 5). There is not much to be found of the prehistoric gold mines themselves, in part because they were usually back filled with rock rubble, whether for safety or secrecy is not clear, but mostly because European miners enlarged all the old pits and stopes which they could find.

More evidence remains of the old copper mines at Matsitama. Here, forty-seven prehistoric mines are known (Figure 6; Molyneux and Reinecke 1983) and most of these are still visible as open pits, which have only partly been backfilled with rubble. A greater bulk of copper ore was removed than was the case with gold mining and not enough rubble rock remained to fill the holes up again. They have also largely been untouched by European miners.

The largest open pit at Matsitama is called Thakadu. It is said to have been the second biggest prehistoric copper mine south of the Sahara, measuring 180 x 24 metres with an estimated depth of 7 metres; now backfilled to leave an average depth of 1.8 metres. The copper contents of the rock was

about 5 percent and the estimated 21,620 tonnes of ore that was removed would have yielded about 721 tonnes of copper, if one assumes that about two-thirds of the copper could have been recovered by the simple smelting methods (Molyneux and Reinecke, 1983: 99; Summers 1969: 78).

In contrast, the copper mines at Bushman Mines were generally deep shafts and stopes, the deepest reaching 34 metres. About 20 mine features are known here (Figure 7; Boocock 1954; Jorissen 1910). No estimate is available on the amount of copper mined here in prehistoric times, but in places the copper content was up to 34.48 percent. As at Matsitama, it occurred as oxidized copper sulphides such as malachite.

The prehistoric stopes at Bushman Mines also went through layers of graphite of a very good quality and this was no doubt also collected and traded. It was used as decorative paint on pottery from about 1300 onwards and is even today obtained by potters in the northeast through trade with the San (hence possibly the name Bushman Mines).

No significant prehistoric mining took place at Selebi-Phikwe or Phoenix-Selkirk.

Not much is known of the processing techniques used, although a few smelting sites have been located at Matsitama. The copper ore was probably smelted in a simple furnace and not much slag was produced.

Only one of the mines in the northeast has been

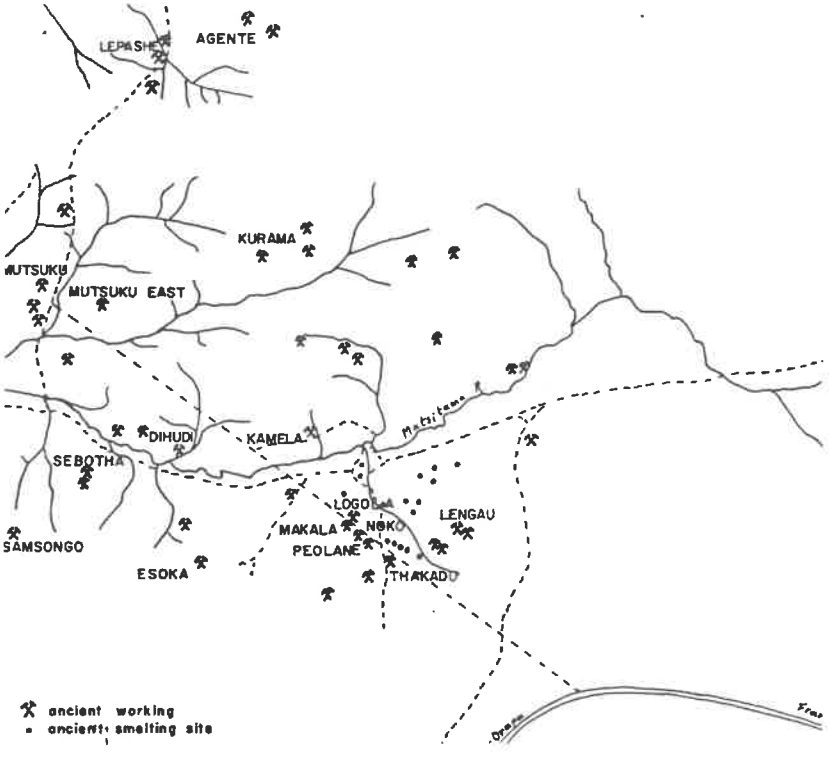


Figure 6 Copper mines at Matsitama (after Molyneux and Reinecke 1983)

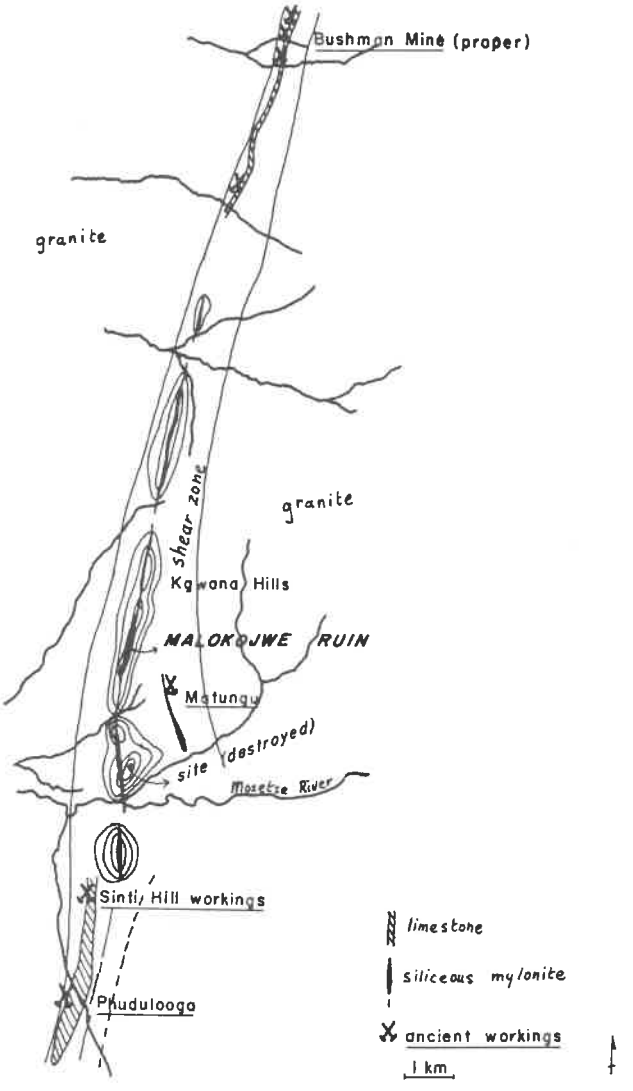


Figure 7 Copper mines at Bushman Mines (after Jorissen1910, Boocock 1954).

Figure 8 Copper finger ring from the Matanga site.

dated. Charcoal from the base of a small stope at Thakadu produced a date of cal. AD 1474 (1430-1640) (Summers 1969: 134). Pottery found at a nearby smelting site also indicates this period. Copper objects have been found at the Matanga site near Tsamya, dated to the period 1398-1432. These include a fancy ring made from very fine wire (Figure 8). Two small crucibles indicate that metal working took place at the site, probably smithing, but whether using gold or copper is not clear. Generally, small jewellery was made, not only rings, but bangles and beads also.

Copper jewellery and some crucibles were also found at Selolwe Ruin near Francistown which date from the 16th to early 17th century, and jewellery at Domboshaba Ruin dates probably to the period 1422-1455.

We have no dates for gold mining in the northeast, but nearby in western Zimbabwe two mines have been dated to the late 13th to early 14th century, about a century earlier than copper mining at Thakadu and it is likely that gold was mined in the northeast also in the 14th century.

The metal production of northeast Botswana was important for the economy of the Shona states. Much more copper and gold were produced from the mines than was required in the immediate vicinity, and most of it was sent eastward to Zimbabwe as trade items or tribute. An extensive trade network established since the 10th century existed with the Arabs on the east coast. Ivory and other game products initially, and then more importantly, gold, were traded mainly for glass beads and cloth, but also for other luxury items, and later when the Portuguese were the main traders on the east coast, muskets, gunpowder and lead were imported. Fragments of Chinese porcelain have been found at Domboshaba Ruin, for example, showing that in the early 15th century even northeast Botswana was included in the vast international trade network.

This trade network was controlled by Great Zimbabwe and it was the basis of its wealth and power. Great Zimbabwe was the capital of a large state between AD 1250 and 1430, which stretched well into Mozambique and west to include much of eastern Botswana (Figure 9). We know this because of the presence of stone walled ruins throughout this area that were built in the architectural style of Great Zimbabwe.

No gold was mined near Great Zimbabwe itself. In fact most of the export products came from the western province (western Zimbabwe and northeastern Botswana) and the rulers of Great Zimbabwe acted as middlemen.

About 1430 Great Zimbabwe was suddenly virtually abandoned, while Khami in the heartland of the western province near present day Bulawayo, gained prominence. Although it has ben hypothesized that Great Zimbabwe was abandoned due to exhaustion of natural resources in that area (Huffman, 1972), it is more likely that the western province, realizing its trade power, broke away from the state and

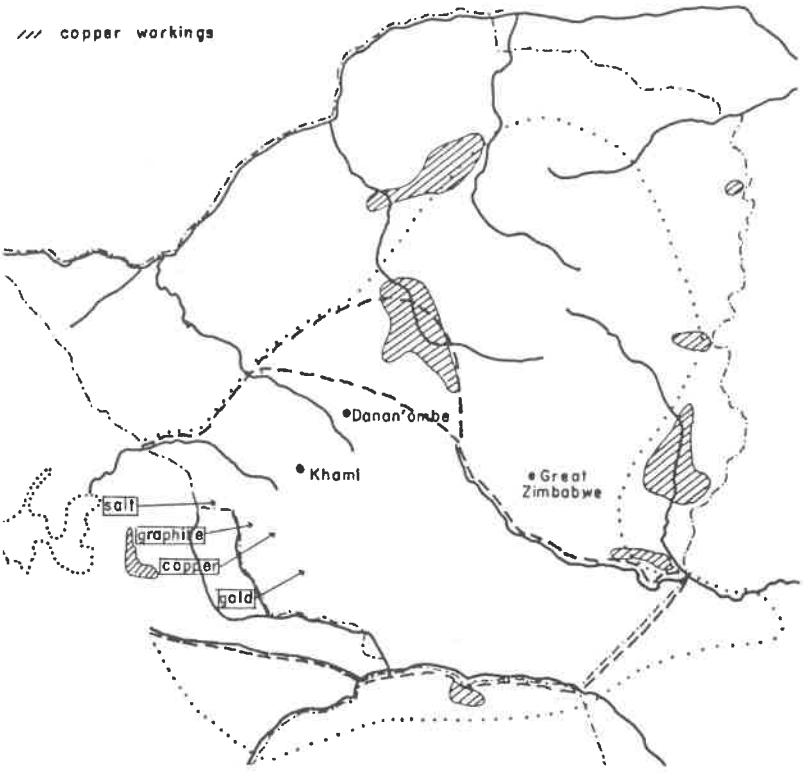


Figure 9 Zimbabwe state (...) and Butua(---) copper belts

Figure 10 Vukwe Ruins photographed by Wieschhoff circa 1930.

started to send its exports via the Zambezi valley instead, so bypassing Great Zimbabwe and depriving it of its income.

Khami became the capital of a new state known as Butua. Its western Shona citizens are ancestors of the Bakalanga. Butua stretched westward as far as Sowa Pan.

There were two phases to the history of Butua: the first under the Chibundule dynasty (1430-1685) and the second under the Nichasike or Changamire dynasty (1685-1830).

During the Chibundule period the only substantial copper deposits within Butua were those of Matsitama and Bushman Mines (Figure 9), and the mine at Thakadu has been dated to exactly this period. Although copper had already been mined during the later part of the Zimbabwe state period, most of the copper mining in the northeast probably stems from the Chibundule period, when production was stepped up. Copper was not a major export commodity, but even most ordinary citizens probably had a copper bangle, so there was considerable demand for copper within the state itself. Gold still played a major role as export earner and for prestigious jewellery for the ruling elite. Graphite from Bushman Mines and salt from Sowa Pan may also have been sent east, as well as ivory and gameskins.

Several stone walled ruins of the Chibundule period are associated with the mines of northeast Botswana. Domboshaba Ruin and Vukwe Ruin (Figure 10) are on the edge of the Vumba goldfield, while Old Tati Ruin and Selolewe Ruin are associated with the Tati goldfield, for example. Malokodjwe Ruin lies in the Bushman Mines copper belt (Figure 7). These were residences of provincial and district chiefs, who probably controlled the mining, although there was not a special labour force for the mines, but mining was carried out rather by farmers in their spare time. The metals were probably sent as tribute to the chiefs and from there were sent to the *mambo* or king at Khami. Copper was transported and traded in the form of wire and ingots, although we do not know the shape and size of the ingots that came from Matsitama and Bushman Mines. Gold dust was transported in porcupine quills.

When the Changamire ousted the last Chibundule mambo in about 1685 and established the Nichasike lineage as rulers, he moved the capital to Danan'ombe, about 100 kilometres to the northeast. He also expanded the state to the northeast and probably gained control over the copper deposits of central Zimbabwe (Figure 9) and mining may then have ceased in Botswana. Alternatively, the easily worked oxidised zone of ore in Botswana may have been exhausted, necessitating gaining control of the copper belt of central Zimbabwe.

Gold production also declined (figures from Randles 1975:44, 57, 113, 115), probably also because of exhaustion of the easily accessible parts of the gold mines. At the beginning of the Chibundule period gold exports from Zimbabwe

and Botswana are said to have amounted to as much as 8,500 kilograms per year. In 1505 the Portuguese took over from the Arabs and there was initially a drastic drop in exports until they realized that European wool and linen was not wanted by customers used to finely woven, colourful cotton from India and silks and brocades. In 1591 gold exports from the whole region were 716 kilograms and up again in 1667 to 1,487.5 kilograms. After the Changamire takeover, the figures available are for Butua only, but much of the gold had probably come from that region prior to the take over as well. For the 18th century export figures range from 212 to 425 kilograms per year. In 1896 this had dropped to 51 kilograms, because by then the Portuguese had largely lost control over the east coast trade. The ivory trade was still going strong then at 47,000 kilograms in 1806, although down from the approximately 200,000 kilograms in 1552.

In the 1830s there were major upheavals in southern Africa, which resulted, among other things, in the end of Butua as a state. Instead, the Amandebele under Mzilikazi settled at Bulawayo and subjected the Bakalanga. This finally disrupted the trade with the east coast to the extent that, when the first Europeans reached northeast Botswana and Matebeleland, no mining in gold and copper took place any more, although some was still described from Mashonaland.

The English and Afrikaners, who made their way north into the interior seemed to be totally ignorant of the extensive mining and trade with the Arabs and Portuguese that had gone on previously. When in 1867, the hunter Henry Hartley and the geologist Karl Mauch found gold near the Tati River, this was hailed as a major discovery (Figure 11); the first gold to be found in southern Africa. Their enthusiasm over the potential riches triggered off a gold rush (Table1955: ch. 10). Many prospectors arrived, their oxwagons full of equipment and supplies to try their luck, and by 1870 a settlement was established on the lower Tati river and prospecting was well underway. A group of Australians made camp nearer to present day Francistown (Mohr 1973).

The area between the Shashe and Ramokgwebane River had been claimed by both the Bamangwato and the Amandebele and both demanded prospecting fees. In 1868 the Ndebele king Mzilikazi died and Lobengula, his successor, was not a strong ruler. At the same time there was a succession dispute among the Bamangwato. Sir John Swinburne and Mr Lavert, who had formed the London and Limpopo Mining Company, took advantage of the confusion and obtained sole mining rights for the Tati Concession from Lobengula. They then sold mining claims to others.

The miners essentially looked for 'ancient workings' and then expanded these. Of all the European gold mines only the Rainbow Mine had not existed before (Key, 1976). Initially, many of the prospectors used simple firesetting, digging, crushing and panning methods as the Bakalanga had

Figure 11 Karl Mauch (left) explorer and European discoverer of the Tati gold fields.

done. It was soon realised, however, that the richer surface concentrations of ore had already been mined, and in order to work the deeper ores and to make a profit one needed, sophisticated and expensive equipment such as pumps, steam engines and stampmills, which few could afford. When word spread of diamonds found at Kimberley, many miners left to try their luck there and the Tati settlement was virtually abandoned by 1873.

The London and Limpopo Mining Company did bring up the necessary heavy equipment and its steam powered stampmill was the first mechanical crusher in southern Africa (Figure 12).

Mines around the Tati settlement that were extensively worked included the New Zealand Mine, with a shaft going down 360 metres being the deepest in the Tati goldfield, and the Blue Jacket Mine where Mr Greit tried his luck.

When Thomas Baines visited in 1870, he found Greit hard at work sinking shafts, following initially along the old Kalanga shafts and supporting the sides with *Acacia* beams and a pole with spikes as rungs was used as a ladder. He paid £200 for his claim and had spent a further £300 in digging the shafts, but had thus far only found £300 worth of gold. However, 150 tons of quartz lay waiting to be crushed in the LLMC stampmill with some rock showing visible gold. Greit lived in a comfortable hut built of stakes and thorns, with a strong kraal to protect his goats from the lions, and a

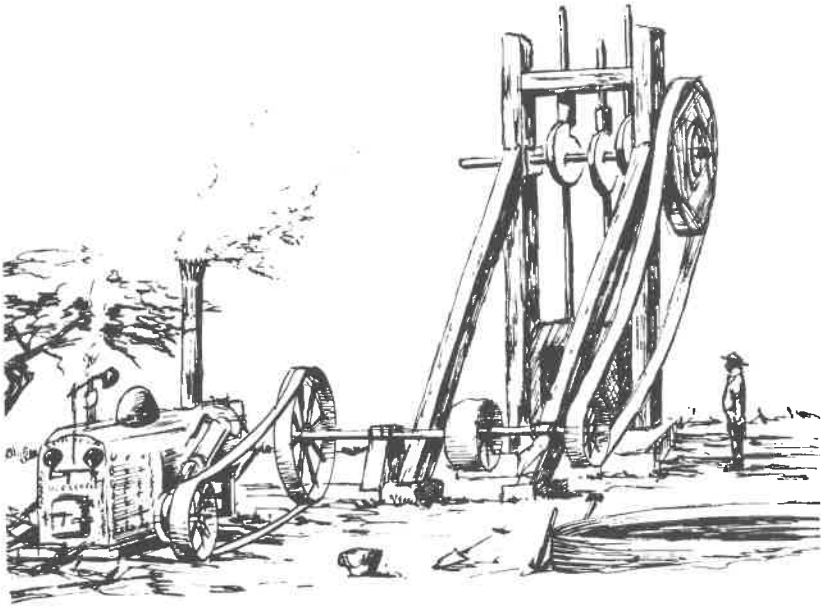


Figure 12 The first ore crusher in southern Africa operated at the Tati gold fields.

storeroom on stilts to keep out rats. Later the Blue Jacket Mine was owned by Nelson, the Manager of LLMC and by Hugh Dobie.

In 1880 the London and Limpopo Mining Company no longer had sufficient financial backing and the Tati Concession was signed over the the Northern Lights Gold and Explorations Company. Sam Edwards and Hugh Dobie were among its founding directors as was Daniel Francis. This company later became the Tati Company Limited. The Tati Company assumed also, among other rights, landownership of the Tati Concession, when mining proved unprofitable and hut taxes and sale of stands and range land became the main business of the company. The Tati Concession is now the North East District and the history of this district is closely linked with that of the Tati Company.

The largest mine in the Tati Concession was the Monarch Mine. Initially it spanned 70 claims at 150 by 600 feet each, but was later expanded to 160 claims. Gold occurs in a quartz reef along granite-schist contacts. It is a virtually continuous strike of reef over 3650 feet with an average width of 4 to 5 feet (Anon. 1940).

Mining started there in 1895 and the Bulawayo Chronicle of 27 July 1897 reports that, "the Monarch Mine is equipped with a crushing plant of 30 stamps and has already crushed some 12,000 tons of ore, producing 4000 ounces of gold. ...a large cyanide plant capable of treating 5000 tons per

month, is now in course of erection."

The introduction of modern chemical treatment meant that more gold could be retrieved per ton of ore. Mercury was used to absorb gold from the weathered rock of the oxidized zone and cyanide in the more difficult sulphides of the deeper layers. The mine was operated continually day and night except for 30 minutes each day when the gold was collected.

In 1897 the railway was constructed from Mafeking to Bulawayo and it was decided to have it pass near the Monarch Mine rather than the now virtually abandoned Tati settlement. A new settlement was developed at Monarch station and it was named Francistown after Daniel Francis, one of the founding directors of the Tati Company. A street plan was laid out and the Tati Company offered commercial and residential stands for sale. All this activity and the better line of transport and communication created renewed prospects for success in gold mining. However, the Matebele Uprising, the Boer War and rinderpest struck and in 1902 the Monarch Mine was forced to close.

The Victory Monarch Gold Mining Company mined at Monarch again between 1919 and 1922 during the period 42,401 tons of ore were crushed. Gold sales had amounted to £164,438 when in 1923 the Victory Monarch Gold Mining Company was bought by James and Earnest Haskins and the mine was operated by them from 1925 to 1927 (Figure 13). They exposed the reef over three quarters of a mile and several shafts were sunk down to the water table. Thirty-one thousand tons of ore were crushed. Between 1927 and 1933 77,000 tons of tailings were treated chemically, producing £21,681 worth of gold. Total tonnage of ore crushed at Monarch by 1940 was 313,604. Between 1934 and 1946 the Tati Goldfields Company Limited of which Haskins family still was majority shareholders, mined at Monarch and even today two companies are trying their luck there, one has such a shaft and the other is retreating part of the old tailings.

The main period of operations in the Tati Goldfields

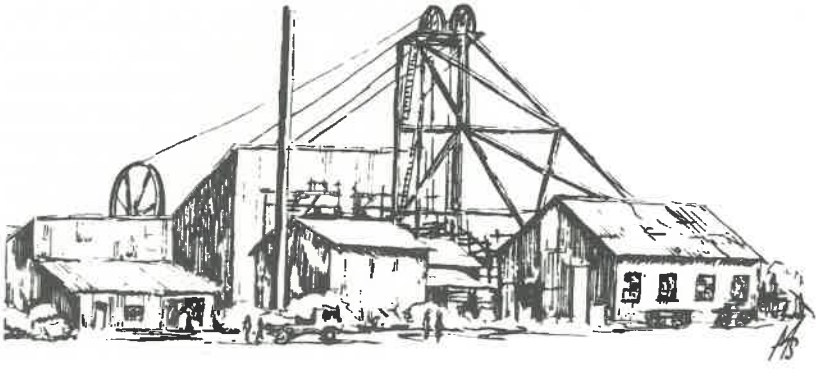


Figure 13 The Monarch Mine

was from 1933 to 1947 (Molyneux in Key 1976: 102-107). Total output between 1834 and 1855 was 944,700 tons of ore at an average of 6.63 grams per ton, producing 6,265,111 grams (201,428 oz) gold and 610,340 grams (19,623 oz) silver. This came mostly from the Monarch Mine, the Map Mine (300,470 grams), the Gem Mine, the Rainbow Mine, Cinderella, Dinuku, Lady Mary Mine (1,500 grams per month for four years), Phoenix (712,500 grams) and the Vermaak's Mine (418,950 grams). Molyneux (Key 1976: 102) estimates that the total output, including from prehistoric times, was 12-15,000,000 grams (400-500,000 oz) of gold.

In the 1950s Blackie Mijnhardt mined for gold at the Bonanza and Golden Eagle Mines and his old stampmill is still at Golden Eagle. He also mined for kyanite at Halfway Kop. This is a rare mineral, which is used for insulation. Ed Schonkin worked at the Vermaak's Mine during the period and here also still stands a stampmill as a monument to his endeavour.

In the past couple of years renewed small scale mining, prospecting and retreatment of old dumps have taken place at Blue Jacket, New Zealand, Golden Eagle, Bonanza and Somerset, but none are very successful. A larger operation at Rainbow Mines by Morex was a failure and so was the major operation by Phelps Dodge.

This last company opened up the old mines Map and Nora at Todd's Creek, which had been worked by the Australian prospectors in the 1870s. An impressive roasting and chemical treatment plant was built and the plant was opened up in 1989 with 300 employees. It has since been closed down.

Copper mining has also started again. On a large scale at Selebi-Phikwe and at a smaller scale at Phoenix-Selkirk, both by Bamangwato Concessions Limited. Plans are underway to start mining again at Matsitama.

'Mining propositions should always be regarded as gambles good or bad gambles, but still, and always, gambles' (Halsey in The Chronicle 9 April 1954: 10).

In the old days the risks were spread as many farmers dabbled in mining in their spare time, the investment layout was little and their livelihood did not depend on it. Even for the ruling elite wealth was first and foremost in the form of cattle. Yet gold, and especially control of the trade network integrated a vast area between the Zambesi and Limpopo Rivers and gave rise to a powerful state. Great Zimbabwe eventually lost the gamble and other centres took their place in history. The gold and copper mines of northeastern Botswana played an important role in this.

Francistown was a rowdy mining town and the North East District started as a mining concession. Gold still draws gamblers and copper still holds its attraction; there are still seven mining ventures in town, the Tati Company building again towers over the town and the first jewellery shop has

just opened up. Gold and copper mining remain risky however. Diamonds are a better gamble. In fact, diamonds are to modern Botswana what gold and ivory were to the Shona States.

Acknowledgements

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Historic Buildings In Francistown

Supa-Ngwao Museum Society

Francistown was established in 1897 as the centre for the Tati Concession. The Tati gold mining concession covered the entire area between the Shashe and Ramokgwebane Rivers. It was granted in 1868 to the London and Limpopo Mining Company (LLMC) by King Lobengula of the Amandebele, who claimed the area by virtue of conquest over the Bakalanga.

A settlement was established near the Tati and Shashe confluence and there was a considerable flurry of activity at the various mines, until most miners, realizing how difficult it would be to make a profit, left to try their luck elsewhere. By 1871 the Tati settlement was virtually abandoned, although some hardy souls carried on prospecting.

In 1880 the LLMC had financial difficulties and the concession was signed over to the Northern Light Gold and Exploration Company, later to become the Tati Company Ltd.

In 1895 a large mining operation was started at the Monarch Reef near the confluence of the Tati and Ntshe Rivers and when the railway from Mafikeng to Bulawayo was planned it was decided to pass near Monarch rather than the Tati settlement.

The railway reached Monarch September 1st, 1897 which was the year in which the settlement that was developing near the Monarch Mine was named Francistown after Daniel Francis, one of the founding directors of the Tati Company, which owned virtually all the land of the settlement. In August 1897 the Company auctioned off 300 freehold stands, which were to form the centre of this new town. Apart from the Monarch Mine, a number of other mines were at that time being worked and it was expected that Francistown would become a boom town.

In the advertisement for the auction of stands in the Bulawayo Chronicle of 22 July 1897 Francistown is described as follows, 'The town is favourably situated on a sloping piece of ground alongside the railway and within 900 yards of the river; and will be for a considerable period the terminus for the railway.

'Waterworks will shortly be established, and in about two months time the town will be lit by the electric light.

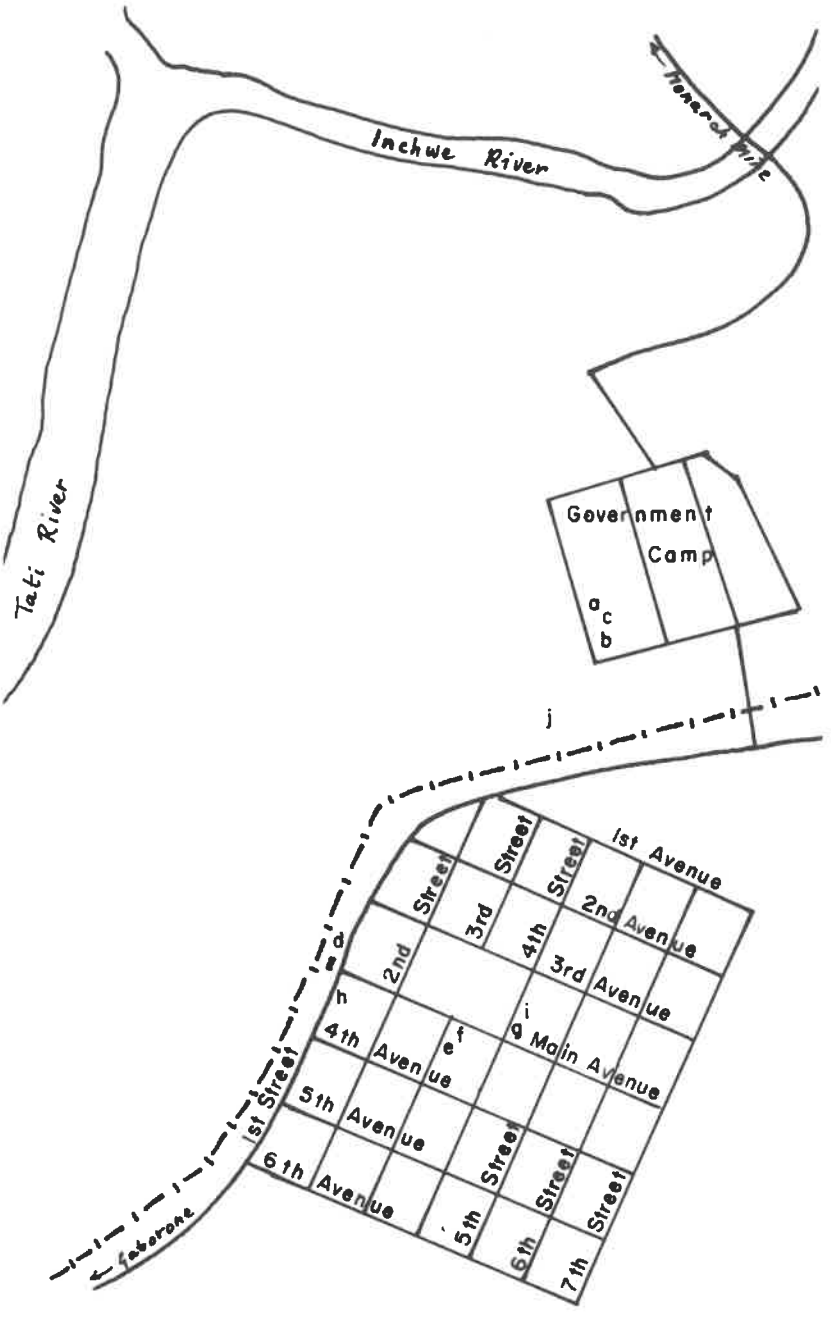

Figure 1 The original layout of Francistown showing the locations of the historic buildings mentioned in this article.

There has been a First-Class Hotel erected, which has cost nearly £5 000, several Wholesale and Retail Stores, and Three Banks—the Standard Bank, the African Banking Corporation, and the Bank of Africa—are all established, and other buildings are in the course of erection; and all forwarding and agency business for the north is now established at Francistown.'

The town consisted initially of one commercial street, First Street, parallel and to the east of the railway line, with a few residences behind it.

Prior to the auction of freehold stands an expanded commercial and residential area was laid out systematically (Figure 1) and the stands demarcated and numbered. The streets were made wide enough so that oxwaggons could turn around in them. Separate residential areas were later established for coloured people in Satellite Township, and for black people between the railway and the Tati River.

Robby Robinson arrived in town in 1916 and recalls that at that time many of the buildings on First Street were still tin shanties, such as Macombie's blacksmith shop. But the Roncivelle store, the Francistown Supply Company and Pioneer Bakery of Haskins, and the building of the Grenfell brothers were of brick. The Tati Hotel with its wide, ornate verandah was the centre of social life. South of the hotel was the store of Pretorius, but there the bush started. Even

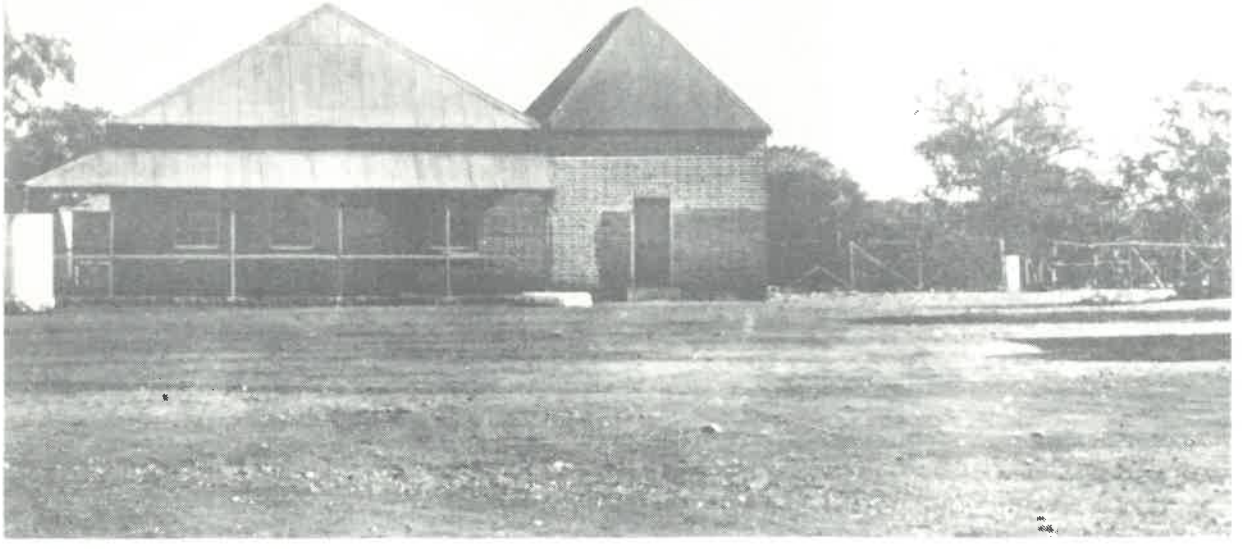

Figure 2 The original Court House and gaol in Francistown

Second Street, now Blue Jacket Street, was in the bush and was referred to as 'the lane at the back'. Beyond were some residences and the church and school. The railway station was just a small building. Across the railway was the abattoir and two railway houses, that of the Station Master and one for the Foreman. In Government Camp were the court house and the gaol. The gaoler lived in a tin shanty and twice a week also acted as postmaster. There was no hospital, but there was one sick bed in the Tati company complex (where the Institute of Adult Education now is). Dr Robertson was the first physician. In 1916 the General Manager of the Tati Company was Mr Balantyne. At the time the Prospect Mine, the New Zealand and the Lady Mary Mines were in operation and the European population, including children, numbered 72.

Mr Robinson lived with his granny on the Bluebell farm on the Shashe River and came into town by oxcart once a month for shopping. They moved into town after all the cattle died in 1934 due to drought.

By then there were two tennis courts on the other side of the railway station and behind it was the golf course which stretched all the way to the Tati River. Mrs de Villiers recalls that going to the Monarch Mine was quite an expedition if the river was flowing, since you had to use the cable box to get across. Later this was replaced by a hanging bridge.

The Tati Company was in charge of water and electricity, it collected hut taxes and ran the Hotel, two stores and a *bojalwa* brewery.

In 1957 Tatitown was created and the African population was moved from the east bank to make room for light

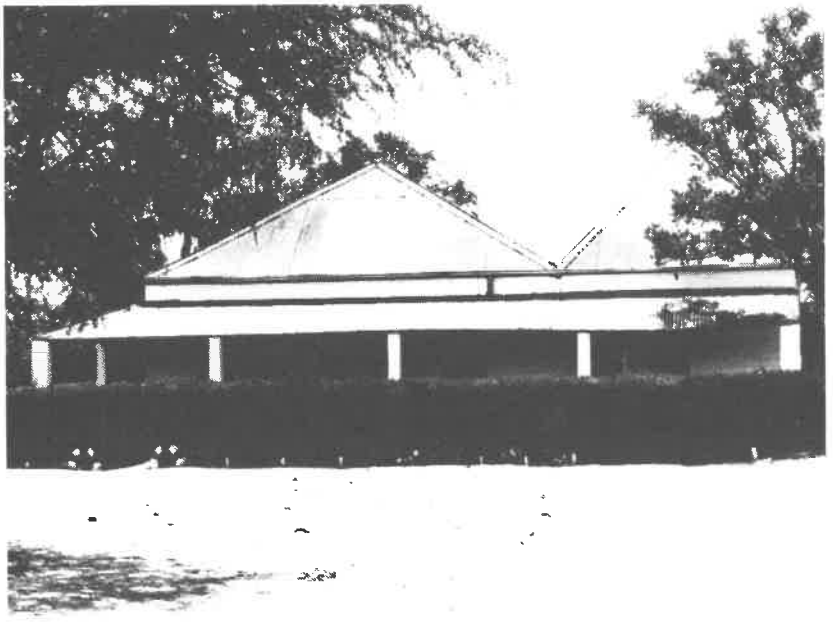

Figure 3 When the Veterinary Department vacates the former Court House it will become a bulding for the Supa-Ngwao Museum

industry. Since Independence, Francistown has ceased to be a company town and it became desegregated.

Mayor Iqbal Ebrahim was born in Francistown and has fond memories of the cinema held first in the Grand Hotel (which had been built by Haskins in 1936 during the mining boom and was famous for its Horseshoe Bar) and later in the open air at the Wenela complex across the railway. Across the railway was also the Creamery. He remembers the days when one took a Sunday drive out to Lady Mary ranch, a couple of miles out of town, to see the elephants and the days when the Town Engineer, Mike Ives, had the maps of the Francistown water and power lines in his head.

Francistown was a mining town, a frontier town, where everybody knew everybody else. The pace of life has picked up dramatically in the 1980s and it is now truely a boom town, which must have one of the highest growth rates in the world. Mayor Ebrahim sees the future of Francistown as economically bright but at the same time socially frightening, as he sees the old pioneer spirit, the community spirit, in danger of being lost. He warns that the past must not be forgotten, since through it we understand the present and see where we should be heading in the future.

In the past most of the old buildings have been torn down and modern multi-storey structures built to replace them so as to make better use of the now commercially very valuable land. Many of the old buildings were architecturally and historically of little interest and had become structurally unsound. However, it is with regret that we have seen such lovely period pieces as the old Ebrahim corner store and the double storey Roncivell building be demolished and replaced

Figure 4 The Police Station was part of the three building complex including the Court House and gaol.

by nondescript modern structures.

Some of the original buildings from the turn of the century remain, however. Unfortunately none can yet be proven to have been built prior to 1902 and, therefore, do not fall under the protection of the Monuments and Relics Act. For that reason the Supa-Ngwao Museum Committee submitted in 1987 a list of historic buildings to the department of Town and Regional Planning for their consideration, that they might be declared protected under Section 29 of the Town and Country Planning Act. No action was taken by DTRP and since then two of the buildings have been demolished.

We present here photographs of some of these buildings. This is not a complete record and research is continuing.

The Board of Trustees of the Supa-Ngwao Museum Centre has applied for the old Court House, Police Station, Gaol and Gaoler's residence to be used as premises for the Museum Centre. No objections have been raised, but the present occupants must vacate to new premises first. It will mean that at least these buildings will be preserved.

We also applaud the Tati Company and Nuttall-Smith Architects, who in a recent building successfully integrated some of the old architectural features, such as the light and air boxes on the roof, in an otherwise thoroughly modern offices and stores, complex, thus preserving the ambiance of the town and underscoring the important role of the Tati Company in its history.

Historic Buildings of Francistown

a. The Court House (Figures 2 and 3)
Historic interest: The original court house of Francistown, later used as District Commissioner's office.
Present use: The Veterinary Department
Future use: Supa-Ngwao Museum Centre.
Architectural value: Intact period piece: split level red tin roof, brick work arch above doors, small window panes.
Alterations: extension of verandah in front of smaller buildings. Modern annex on the northwest side.
Condition: Slight sag in the verandah roof, but otherwise structurally sound.

b. The Gaol
Historic interest: The original gaol of Francistown when the court house was in use. Natural stone building in front and long brick section with barred windows behind it.
Present use: Department of Wildlife and National Parks
Future use: Supa-Ngwao Museum Centre.
Architectural value: Only remaining natural stone building in Francistown.
Alterations: Modern extensions on the east side.

Condition: Stone section strong; brick section behind it needs some repairs, but the walls are quite thick.

c. Police Station (Figure 4)
Historic interest: Located between the Court House and gaol, these three buildings functioned as a whole.
Present use: Police canteen and general store, run by the Police Force.
Future use: Supa-Ngwao Museum Centre.
Architectural value: Still has the original tongue-in-groove ceiling in the central section.
Alterations: None.
Condition: Sound.

d. Railway station (Figures 5 and 6)
Historic interest: The railway was a determining factor in the original location of Francistown and went hand-in-hand with the development of the settlement. This building replaced the temporary tin shack of 1897.
Architectural value: Much of the charm of the original building has been lost by the removal of the bell tower and the ornamentation. Original sash windows and ornamental ventilation ducts remain.
Alterations: Extended to both sides. Southern part of the verandah closed in. Bell tower and ornamentation removed.
Condition: Sound.

e. St. Patrick's Church; bell tower (Figures 7 and 8)
Historic interest: The present building replaced the original Church of England building, which burnt down (believed to

Figure 5 The addition of wall paint and the removal of he bell tower and ornamentation are the main changes affected on the railway station in Francistown.

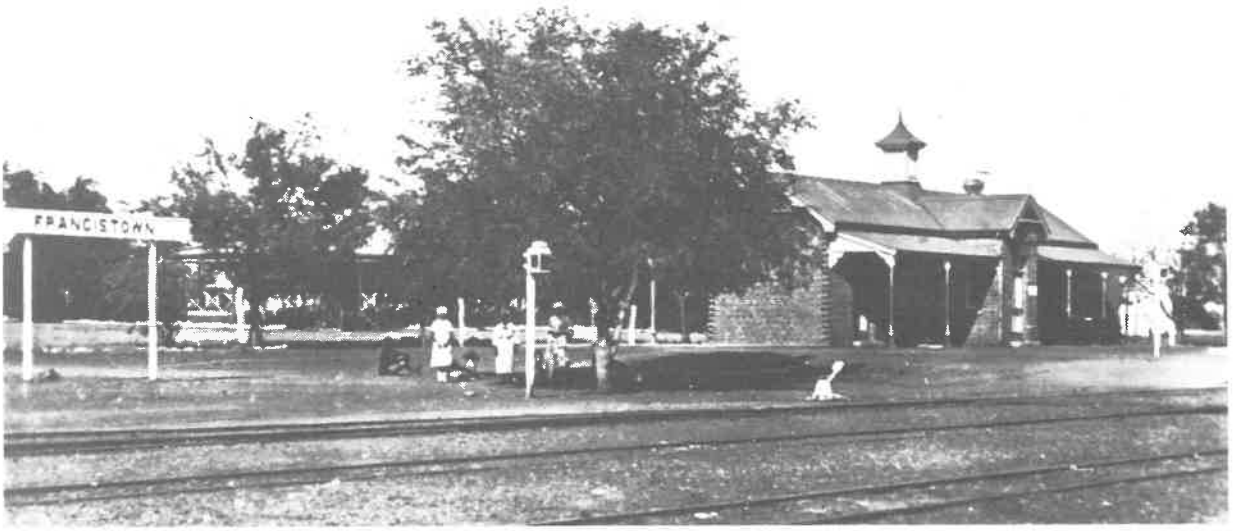

Figure 6 The arrival of the railway linked Francistown more directly with the centres of growth in South Africa and Zimbabwe.

have happend in the 1930s). The original bell tower remains, which was erected in 1909 in memory to Charles S Grenfell. Memorial plagues inside the church date back to1907.

f. John Mackenzie School Hall (Figure 9)
Historic interest: Dates back to 1916 and was the first school building in Francistown.
Alterations: The hall still forms the core of the northwest section of the school and serves as the auditorium. Annexes were built along the north side and against the west side of the school. The walls have been rendered with imitation block on the exterior.
Condition: Sound.

g. Institute of Adult Education.
Historic interest: Was originally an office of the Tati Company, later the hostel for pupils of the John Mackenzie School, barracks for the British troops protecting the radio station during UDI and hostel for male students of TTC
Present use: Institute of Adult Education.
Architectural interest: Period piece: broken angle roof, large verandah with original fascia finish below the roof.
Alterations: Apparently it was extensively damaged in a fire and has lost much of its former appearance.
Condition: Slight sag in the roof near the door; otherwise sound.

h. T C Store.
Historic interest: Dates from the time of the original Tati Hotel and was the Tati Company office. It had a strong room

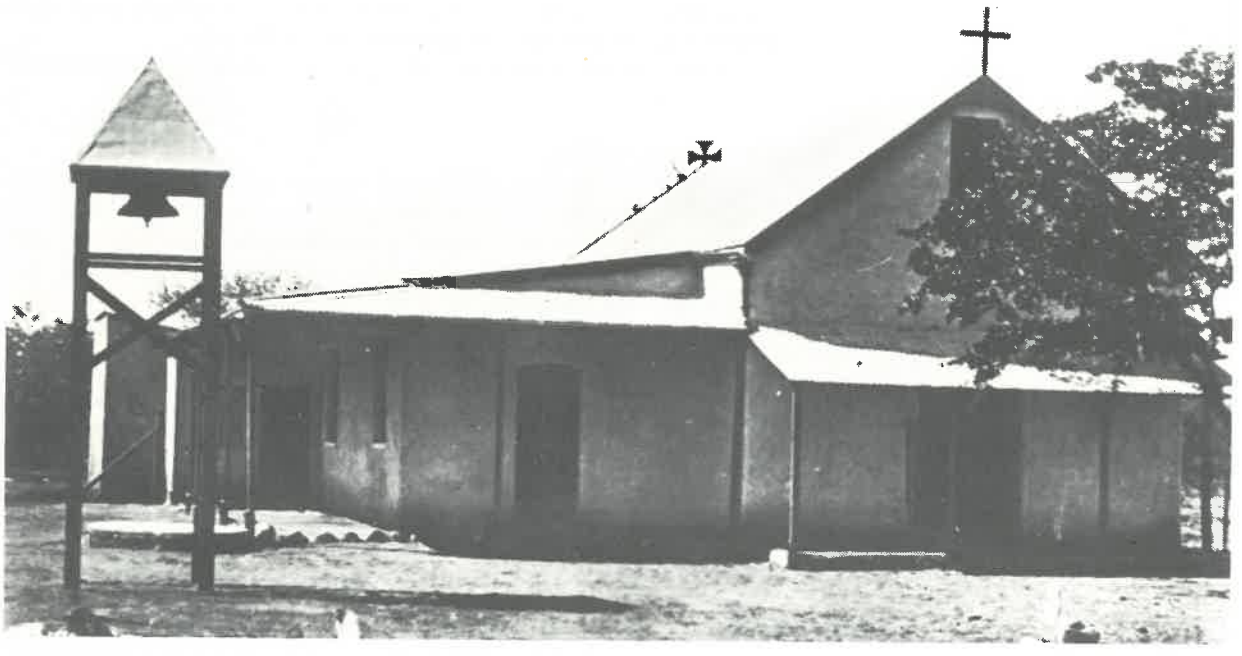

Figure 7 St Patrick's Church was burnt down although the bell tower survives.

in it for the gold. It became a store during World War II. The Hotel burnt down in 1923.
Present use: Tati Company general store.
Architectural value: Period piece. Main feature: Light and air well on the roof.
Alterations: Extended to both sides. Light well partly louvred in. Verandah replaced.
Condition: Sound.

i. General Manager's House (Figures 10 and 11)
Historic interest: Originally the residence of the General Manager of the Tati Company, then became the mess for the Wenela organisation.
Present use: Private residence.
Architectural value: Period piece: original light well, chimney, split level roof, sash windows.
Alterations: Annexes to either side are out of character with the original building. Verandah partly enclosed and barred; ornamentation removed.
Condition: Sound.

j. Hexagonal Guest House of the Doctor's residence.
Historic interest: The Doctor's House (demolished) was originally the residence of the District Commissioner. This little building may have been used first by the Doctor as a dispensary, but later it was used for guests and social gatherings.

Future use: Possible Supa-Ngwao Museum Centre.
Architectural value: Period piece: Red tin roof, brick arch above windows and doors.
Alterations: Verandah has been removed; windows and door vandalized. Walls and ceiling stained with soot.
Condition: Walls and roof still sound. Needs to be restored.

Acknowledgements.

Mr. Robby Robinson and Mayor Iqbal Ebrahim were among the speakers at the Nostalgic Evening at the Grand Hotel organized by the Supa-Ngwao Museum Society in 1990, a dinner with champagne, speeches and old songs. Mrs. de Villiers had been interviewed by Van Waarden in 1986. Mrs. Estelle Byrne researched in the National Archives of Zimbabwe for the old photographs. The photographs in figures 2, 5, 7, 9, and 11 have been reproduced with kind permission of the National Archives of Zimbabwe.

Figure 8 The church bell tower was erected to the memory of Charles S Grenfell in 1909

(Above, opposite page) Figure 9 John Mackensie School Hall.

(Below, opposite page) Figure 10 Tati Hotel was burnt down in 1923.

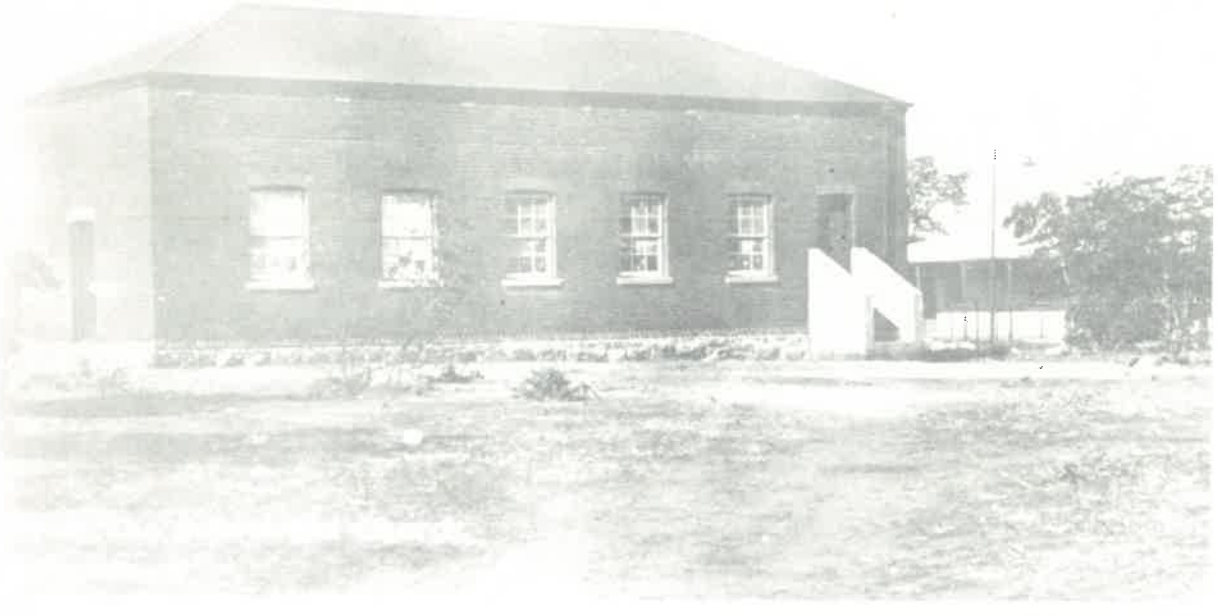

Figure 11 General Manager's House for the Tati Company.

Figure 12 The General Manager's house eventually became a private residence.

Glossary

Bogwera	Men's initiation ceremony.
Bojale	Women's initiation ceremony.
Bojalwa	A traditional brew (beer).
Dikgosi	Chiefs or traditional tribal leaders (the prefix *di-* signifies plural).
Diphadisanyo	Choir competitions (the prefix di- signifies plural).
Kgosi	Chief.
Kgotla	The place where the tribe assembles to discuss developments and other affairs concerning them or the nation as whole. The chief and government officials address them here. Other meaning: Ward.
Kika	Carved wooden block in which sorghum, maize and millet are stamped.
Lolwapa	A courtyard around a house. The word can also mean a family group or household.
Makgotla	Wards (the prefix *ma-* signifies plural).
Masimo	Lands.
Matanga	A fenced enclosure for animals. This can be a place name. (This is in Ikalanga).
Merafe	Tribes (Singular: *morafe*).
Mmakgosi	Chief's wife.

Mohumagadi	Chief's wife.
Morabaraba	A board game played between two people using stones and holes on the ground.
Nkokwane	A traditional musical instrument shaped like bow, played by hitting its string with a small stick.
Phadisanyo	Choirs competition.
Pula	Rain. The word is also used to express celebration.
Serankure	A traditional musical instrument shaped like a bow and played by pushing string (made from a piece of hair taken from the bushy part of a cow's tail) across the strung wire.
Tshomarelo Ngwao	Conserve culture

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